



The story of Jai Bahādur's warning and of his Majesty Jahānbānī's departure. Tardī Beg Khān and the other faithless servants came and paid their respects to the Mīrzā who made them all over to trusty men of his own.

A short-sighted man, who does not reflect on the evil day or on a bad end and who enters on the path of wicked designs and of shamelessness, in reality strikes an axe into the foot of his own well-being, and prepares for himself misfortunes and heaven-sent adversities. These things are not hidden from the readers of the pages of the world's history! When Mīr Ghaznavī came and paid his respects to M. 'Askarī, the latter said, "We came to do homage to the king, wherefore has his Excellency gone off by the desert?" Then he inquired where the Prince was, meaning his Majesty, the king of kings. Mīr Ghaznavī said he was in his quarters. The Mīrzā said "Good, let a camel-load of fruit be taken to him from the commissariat (*rikāb-lhāna*); I am coming too." At night he and one or two clerks examined<sup>1</sup> in his tent some of the things which had been brought from the royal stores (*sarkār*); they wrote them down and the state of affairs was exactly as Bairām Khān had conjectured and had represented. Next day at breakfast time (about 9 A. M.) he had his drums beaten and moved from his quarters to the royal encampment. He alighted at the door of his Majesty Jahānbānī's residence (*daulatkhāna*) and had all the men, one by one, small and great, arrested. He made over Tardī Beg Khān to Shāh Walad, and he put all the unfaithful servants in charge of his own men and took them off to Qandahār. Many of them he destroyed by hardships and torments, and from Tardī Beg Khān he took all his hoard so that he soon got the retribution of his deeds. But no, no! how could this be retribution for such crimes? if we called this typhoon of evils one revolution (*girdī*)<sup>2</sup> in the descending of retribution, it would still not be appropriate.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jauhar, who remained in the camp, describes how disappointed 'Askarī was to find that a heavy chest contained only stones.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text I. 63, l. 5 where the same word *girdī* is used. But several MSS. have *nazl* نزل instead of *nuzūl* نزول as if the phrase was

an atom (*girdī*) out of the abundance. Typhoon, *tūfān*, means etymologically a turning or revolving (cf. whirlwind) and hence is appropriately used here.

<sup>3</sup> Tardī Beg was eventually put to death by Bahān Khān.

Verse.<sup>1</sup>

If a wicked and ill-fated man  
Become good by a teacher's instruction,  
In the end the mystery is explained  
For then his true nature is revealed.

It is clear to those who can discern the mysteries of fate, that when the fortunate hand of an eternally elected one be decked with sovereignty's signet, and the dominion-head be exalted by the *khilāfat*'s diadem, the rays of glory are ever shining on the forehead of his career. One of the wondrous indications and celestial portents which occurred at this time in relation to his Majesty, the king of kings, was as follows. When *Mirzā 'Askarī* came to the royal camp and began his improprieties, *Mīr Ghaznavī* and *Māham Āghā*<sup>2</sup> brought his Majesty the king of kings before him on the shoulder of honour and in the bosom of security. Though the *Mirzā* directed his countenance towards him and had a jubilant<sup>3</sup> air and wore a forced smile, his Majesty, even then an aggregate of the perfections of a mature man of the world, spite of his tender years, was in no way elated (*shigufta*). Restraint<sup>4</sup> of spirit was manifested on his brow. The *Mirzā* changed his tone<sup>5</sup> and said, "We

<sup>1</sup> The text has in the first line *kunad* instead of *kunish* and consequently is unintelligible. Most of the I. O. MSS. have *kunish* کنش and I think this is unquestionably the right reading. The meaning is that the coltish nature will break through some day, or as *Bābar* expresses it, that everything returns to its original. It corresponds to the Horatian maxim about nature's returning even if expelled by a pitchfork.

<sup>2</sup> So in text instead of the *Anagā* sometimes used. Probably *Āghā* is right for it is also a term applied to a woman.

<sup>3</sup> *Ḍar naqām-i-shigaftagī u zahr-ḥand āmad*. *Zahr-ḥand* is said by the *Bahār-i-ʿajam* to be the op-

posite of *shukr-ḥand*. It means smiling or laughter out of anger or recklessness, *lit.* a poison-smile. A sardonic smile perhaps expresses the meaning.

<sup>4</sup> *Qabz-i-ḥātīr*, repression or depression of spirit; قبض and بسط, says Lane 2482b, are terms applied by the investigators of truth among the Sufis, to two contrary states of the heart, from both of which it is seldom or never free; the former being an affection of the heart withholding it from dilatation and joys. See also Dict. T. T. II. 1198. There A. F. uses it in opposition to *shigufta* which literally means expansion.

<sup>5</sup> *Tariq shuda*. This term is explained by the *Bahār-i-ʿajam* to mean



can see whose this child is. Why should he be elated at seeing us? The Mirzā's ring was hanging from his neck by a red ribbon and after a little while the child in accordance with infantive ways—no! no! by Fortune's guiding hand, put his hand to the ribbon and sought to take it. The Mirzā immediately took the ribbon from his neck and gave it to his Majesty, the king of kings. The acute in the assembly saw in this an auspicious prognostic that bye-and-bye the seal of dominion and the ring of sovereignty would bear his Majesty's name, and that water flowing from the fount of Divine bounties would become a river. From thence his Majesty the Shāhan-shāh went, protected by the Divine aid, in company with M. 'Askarī towards Qandahār. Standing and sitting, sleeping and waking, rays of greatness and command streamed from his Majesty's forehead, and the lights of God's knowledge were manifested. On the road Kōkī Bahādur, one of M. 'Askarī's confidants, came near his Majesty's (Akbar) camel litter and said to Mīr Ghaznavī that if he made the prince over to him he would take him to the king. The Mīr replied that as the king himself had not taken him, 'twas evident there was a reason for leaving him; nor could he venture without high authority to take action. Bahādur said, "I've formed the desire to serve his Majesty and hence I come at such a time of desolation 194 to do so. I wanted to perform this service and now that you don't exalt me by this blessing, give me a token from his Majesty, the king of kings (Akbar), that I may give it to his Majesty." Mīr Ghaznavī gave to Bahādur his Majesty's cap,<sup>1</sup> the diadem of the moon of auspiciousness, and thereby exalted him.

M. 'Askarī brought his Majesty, the king of kings, to Qandahār on 18th Ramazān, 950 (16th December, 1543), and assigned him a residence in the citadel near himself. Māham Āghā, Jijī Anaga and Atka Khān were made eternally fortunate by serving him, and longed for the diffusion of the light of holiness. The Mirzā made over this nursling of fortune who was growing up in the shadow of the

hanging down the head, or the reversal of a former condition. He quotes p. 216b A.F. for such use of it.

The *tāqīya* is properly the skull-cap worn under the turban, but per

haps this was all the child was wearing. It is very ridiculous that A. F. makes Bahādur speak of the infant as his Majesty Shāhanshāh, a title not invented for him till long afterwards.



Divine protection, to his own wife Sultān<sup>1</sup> Begam, and that cupola of chastity out of her abundant wisdom, lovingly and devotedly tended him. To appearance she watched over him, but in reality she was keeping herself alongside of light absolute, and so receiving illumination, and day by day she was beholding more and more the glory (*farr*) of greatness proceeding from the light-increasing brows of that world-blessing.

Evil thoughts respecting one who is God-supported and in whose person God-nourished light exists, can only terminate in good, and out of contrariety nothing can come except service and benefit. Accordingly Eternal Providence was tending him at that time when paternal affection and maternal love should have been responsible for his needments (*takafful-i-muḥimmāt*) and he was in the hands of deadly enemies, so that the foot of loyalty of the far-sighted of wisdom's kingdom might be the more established, and that a guiding lamp might come into the hands of the short-sighted and simple, and that the facts of the Divine watchfulness and of heavenly guardianship might be manifest to friend and foe. I have heard from the sacred lips of his Majesty, the king of kings, as follows: "I perfectly remember what happened when I was one year old, and especially the time when his Majesty Jahānbānī proceeded towards 'Irāq and I was brought to Qandahār. I was then one year<sup>2</sup> and three months old. One day Māham Anaga, the mother of Adham Khān, (who was always in charge of that nursling of fortune), represented to M. 'Askari, "It is a Tūrki<sup>3</sup> custom that when a child begins to walk, the father or grandfather or whoever represents them, takes off his turban and strikes the child with it, as he is going along, so that the nursling of hope may come to the ground (i.e., may fall down). At present his Majesty Jahānbānī is not here; you are in his room, and it is fitting you should perform this spell which is

<sup>1</sup> This lady went, after her husband's death, to Mecca in company with Gulbadan Begam and others in 1574.

<sup>2</sup> Fourteen months, viz., from 15th October, 1542, to 16th December, 1543, or 14½ Muḥammadan months.

<sup>3</sup> Text, *rasm-i-buzurgān*, ancestral

custom, but I. V. MS. A. 564, and 3308 and 3330 have Turkān, and this is most likely to be correct. Māham Anaga being a Turk or Uzbek might speak of Tūrki customs to 'Askari, but would hardly refer to ancestral customs.



like *sipand*<sup>1</sup> against the evil eye. The Mirzā immediately took off his turban and flung it at me, and I fell down." "This striking and falling," his Majesty deigned to observe, "are visibly before me. Also at the same time they took me for good luck to have my head shaved \* 195 at the shrine of Bābā<sup>3</sup> Ḥasan Abdāl. That journey and the taking off my hair are present before me as in a mirror."

What is there extraordinary about this or a hundred things like it, to any one in the blissful chambers of whose heart there is an enkindled lamp?

As the thread of the narrative has extended so far, it is unavoidable that for the moistening of discourse (*sīrābī-i-sukhan*), I say something about the remaining events of Sher Khān, about Mirzā Ḥaidar's going to Kashmīr, about the condition of M. Kāmran who went to Kābul, and M. Hindāl who hurried off to Qandahār, and Yādgar Nāsir Mirzā who made opposition and remained in Bhakkar, o that the searcher after instruction may take warning, and by the strength of a happy fortune, spend his days prudently and righteously.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently *sipand* is not wild rue, but *mehndī*, i.e., *Lawsonia inermis*, which yields henna.

<sup>2</sup> Probably what was cut off was a *cūnti*, or tuft. See Herbelot, pp. 21 and 180.

<sup>3</sup> There is a famous shrine of Ḥasan Abdāl in the Attock *tahsil* of the Rāwal Pindī district. See Murray's Hand-book for the Panjāb 268, the *Tuzak-i-jahāngīrī* 48 and Blochmann 575. Jahāngīr says that Shamsu-d-dīn Atka made a reservoir at Ḥasan Abdāl, and as he was Akbar's guardian and foster-father, it is possible that it was to this Ḥasan Abdāl that the child

was taken. But the shrine is a long way off from Qandahār and it is doubtful if 'Askarī would have allowed Akbar to be removed so far. There is a shrine called Bābā Walī, and also Ḥasan Abdāl, in the outskirts of Qandahār (to the westward). It is mentioned *infra* text I. 238, eight lines from foot, and it is probably to this place that Akbar was taken.

I may note that there is a long account of the saint Ḥasan Abdāl in the *Tar. Sind*. Mā'sūm was a descendant of his, the saint's original home being Sabzwār in Persia.



## CHAPTER XXX.

BRIEF ACCOUNT<sup>1</sup> OF THE EVIL-ENDING CAREER OF SHĒR KHĀN.

It is known that Shēr Khān after crossing the Biāh (Beas) advanced slowly, and in spite of all his warlike equipment acted with great circumspection. He was greatly afraid lest the heroes of the royal army should coalesce and advancing into the field of warfare should exact vengeance from him and bring to nothing all his treacherous machinations. He had sent a large force ahead, but was very cautious about engaging. After some days, when the defection of M. Kāmran, and the opposition of the other brothers became known far and wide, he came to Lāhōr. From thence he advanced as far as Khushāb,<sup>2</sup> and was for some days in Bhera<sup>3</sup> and its neighbourhood. He sent a summons to Sultān Sārang<sup>4</sup> Ghakkār and Sultān Ādam who were leading landholders in that neighbourhood, but as they had been clients of his Majesty Gīti-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, and had prospered by the favour of that exalted family they did not listen to his overtures. He advanced to Hathīāpūr<sup>5</sup> in the Ghakkār territory and sent a large force against them. The Ghakkārs fought bravely and defeated the Afghans so that many of them were captured and sold. Shēr Khān wished to march against them in person. He consulted his followers and they advised that as this tribe had strong mountains and remote (*zamīnhā-ī-qalb*, heart, i.e., internal) territories, they should be dealt with by degrees and by

<sup>1</sup> This and the two following headings do not occur in several MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Jarrett II, 323. In Shāhpūr, Panjab v. bank Jehlam, W. N. W. Lāhōr.

<sup>3</sup> Also in Shāhpūr, North-West Khushāb.

<sup>4</sup> See Delmerick, l. c. and Blochmann, 436.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Hatīyār Lang, Jarrett II, 325. Named after Hātī Ghakkār; Bābar, 259, and Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī, S. Aḥmad ed. 47, where the place is called Hatīya. It is between Rohtās and Rawal Pindi, and near a river called the Kāsī. Delmerick apud Blochmann, 487n.



policy. The proper course was to leave a large army in that neighbourhood which could both watch the royal army and also devastate the country of the Ghakkars. It was also desirable that a strong fort should be built for the carrying out of these two objects. Thus by a counter move these men would be impeded by their own impediments (*az tanganaī-i-khud batang āmada*) and their stubborn heads be brought low. For himself, the proper course was to turn back and apply himself to the administration of the vast country of India. In consequence of this advice he laid the foundations of the Fort of Rohtās<sup>1</sup> and having left a large force there he marched back and came to Āgra. From thence he came to Gwalior where Mir Abū-l-Qāsim was sheltering himself, but was obliged by want of provisions to surrender. Shēr Khān became supreme, and divided all India, except Bengal, into 47 divisions. He introduced the branding<sup>2</sup> of soldiers' horses and carried into effect some of the many plans of Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn which are set forth in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-shāhī*,<sup>3</sup> and which he had heard of. After that he proceeded against Pūran<sup>4</sup> Mal the Raja of Raisin and Candiri. He got the Raja out of the fort by a dishonest treaty and promises and by the efforts of sundry misguided lawyers<sup>5</sup> and wretched ignoramuscs he destroyed the very men to whom he had given quarter. Thence he came to

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<sup>1</sup> I. G. s. v. Rotās. Named after Rohtās in Bihar; on the Kahan and in the Salt Range. For description see Murray's *Hand-book*, Panjab, 237. See also *Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Chronicle, Shēr Shāh claimed this as his own invention.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot III, 197 and also 179.

<sup>4</sup> According to one account descended from the Salhādī of Bābar's Mem. But 'Abbās calls him Bhāia Pūran Mal and says he was only an officer under Salhādī's family.

<sup>5</sup> A. F.'s indignation is very creditable to him and he is apparently the only writer who expresses it, Nizāmu-d-dīn, Badāūnī and Ferishta tell the story without censure, and

'Abbās Khān seems to exult in it. Elliot IV, 402. But A. F. draws a veil over the fact, mentioned by the other historians, that the leading instigator or ratifier of Shēr Shāh's shameless breach of faith was a lawyer or rather theologian named Rafi'u-d-dīn Ṣafavī of whose wisdom and learning A. F. speaks so highly in Chapter XXVI and in Jarrett, III, 423. Probably the reason for this reticence was that A. F.'s mother was the daughter or other near descendant of Rafī-ud-dīn. See Jarrett l. c. The reason the lawyers gave for the breach of the safe-conduct was that Pūran Mal had Muḥammadan women in his harem and had even made some of



Agra and after the manner of the governors<sup>1</sup> (*hukkām*) of Bengal established serais on the roads at the distance of every *kos*.

After a dangerous illness in Āgra<sup>2</sup> he marched against Māldō the lord of Ajmir, Nāgor and many other cities. When he had by fraud and guile<sup>3</sup> disposed of that territory he hastened to Citūr and Ranthambūr. There too he practised his juggleries so that the custodians of the forts sent him the keys. Having got rid of everything there he entered the territory of Dhundīra.<sup>4</sup> From there he went to the fort of Kālinjar and laying siege to it, he made covered approaches (*sābāthā*) and drove mines against it. On 10th Muḥarram,<sup>5</sup>

them into dancing girls. In a footnote to the text there is a passage which is too interesting to be omitted, supported as it is by two MSS. It is to the effect that on account of the breach of faith Qutb Khān left Shēr Shāh's service and became a hermit. It is not clear who this Qutb Khān was, but he could not have been Shēr Shāh's son for he had been shortly before killed in battle. 'Abbās Khān, Elliott, l. c. calls him Qutb Khān Nabī and says, as also does Badāonī, that he was one of the negotiators of the treaty. The word which I have translated ignoramus is *safīhān*. Could A. F. possibly mean to pun on Rafi'u-d-dīn's title of *Safavi*? For definition of *safa*, see Lane's Dict. 1377b and Dict. T. T. I. 724.

<sup>1</sup> Referring to Ḥusain Shāh of Gaur, Stewart's Bengal 109.

<sup>2</sup> According to 'Abbās the illness occurred on his way to Bihar and Bengal.

<sup>3</sup> Alluding to the stratagem of the forged letters by which he is said to have deceived Māldō. See Elphinstone's History. This is probably the Hādiga-i-Māldō, Maldeo's

catastrophe, to which A. F. refers in the *Āin*, Jarrett III. 421 and note. It was this affair that drove A. F.'s father from Nāgor.

<sup>4</sup> This is Jaipur in Ambar, the old name of which was Dhūndār. See Tod's Rajasthan.

<sup>5</sup> This month and day are wrong. The date given by Ferishta and Khāfi Khān is 12 Rabī'u-l-awwal. A. F. says Shēr Khān reigned 5 years, 2 months, 13 days, which does not agree with the date 10th Muḥarram. Shēr Shāh is said to have assumed the title and to have struck coins after the battle of Qanauj. This occurred in the beginning of 947, 10th Muḥarram, whence perhaps A. F.'s date 10th Muḥarram 952, in order to make it an anniversary and point a moral. If we reckon that he ruled five years, viz., 947-51 and died 12 Rabī'ul-awwal we get the figures 5 2 12 or almost exactly A. F.'s. Indeed if he did not die till after sunset the 13 is right. A. F. refers to Shēr Shāh's death in the *Āin*, Jarrett II, 159, 160. As pointed out by Erskine, A. F. later on, p. 336 of text gives another date for the death, viz., 11 Rabī'ul-awwal.



952, or 5th March, 1545, he was consumed by flames of fire which had spontaneously arisen out of the smoke-sighs<sup>1</sup> of the oppressed. The chronogram of his combustion was found in the words “(a)z ātiṣḥ mard:” “Died from fire (= 952).” Though in taking this splendid citadel his life came out of its elemental quadrilateral,<sup>2</sup> yet the fort came into possession. He governed Hindustan by fraud and craft 5 years, 2 months, 13 days. Eight<sup>3</sup> days afterwards his younger son Jalāl Khān took his place, and calling himself Islām Khān took the title of Shāh. He surpassed even his father in wickedness. As the sway of those two seditious impostors was alongside of the crescent-moon<sup>4</sup> world-lighting splendours of the standards of the everlasting dominion like the light of fireflies,<sup>5</sup> semblance without substance, the mysterious design of God for the sake of some purposes, which were infolded in His wisdom’s ambushes, let it prank for a few days and then levelled it with the dust of ruin, and so the world escaped from the grip of the existence of those tyrannous mischief-makers.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The allusion seems to be to the Gulistān I, 27. *Dūd* means smoke, but is used metaphorically for the sighs or exhalations of the heart.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. plays upon the supposition that the human body is made up of four elements, and compares this quadrilateral to the four walls of Kalinjar.

<sup>3</sup> According to Nizāmu-d-dīn and Ferishtā Islām Khān succeeded on 15 Rabi-ul-awwal, or the third day after the death.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahca*, a crescent, or perhaps

a ball representing a moon which was carried on the standards.

<sup>5</sup> *Kirmakān-i-shābiāb*, tiny, night-gleaming worms, but apparently fireflies are meant. I do not remember to have seen glow worms in India, and the reference to the falling to the ground shows that fireflies are intended, and Chalmers so translates the passage.

<sup>6</sup> *Mu'arbidān-i-satīzakār*. *Mu'arbid* is properly one who does not carry his liquor well, and so annoys his boon-companions. Lane 1995c



## CHAPTER XXXI.

## BRIEF ACCOUNT OF M. HAIDAR.

The story of M. Haidar is as follows:—When he had got assistance from his Majesty Jahānbānī, he proceeded towards Kashmīr, as already related. When he got to Naughahr,<sup>1</sup> the officers whose names have already been given, loyally came forward and did homage, and again showed him how he could enter Kashmīr and take possession of it. The Mirzā advanced by the passes in reliance on the Divine aid and the royal fortune. Meanwhile a schism occurred in the Emperor's army. As has been already stated, Khwāja Kilān Beg either from his own inclination or at the instance of M. Kāmran, abandoned the enterprise and joined M. Kāmran, while Muzaḥḥar Tūpcī<sup>2</sup> went off to the Sārang<sup>3</sup> hills. None remained with M. Haidar save a few old servants and the troops whom his Majesty Jahānbānī had deputed to his assistance. But as there was much strife and dissension and confusion and anarchy in Kashmīr, he was warmly supported by the eagerness of the Kashmīris, and on 22nd Rajab, 947 (22nd November, 1540), he entered by the pass of Pūnc<sup>4</sup> and conquered Kashmīr without a battle or a struggle. For at that time it had been long without an established ruler, and the ministers tyrannously held the country in their own possession, and while giving to one of the claimants the name of monarch, themselves exercised the authority. At that period a person called Nāzuk Shāh—having a name that was no name<sup>5</sup> was the

<sup>1</sup> *Tūr. Rash.* 453. Naughahr is in Kashmīr and W. N. W. of Jammū. It is not given in the Ind. Gaz. It was the old capital.

<sup>2</sup> *Tūr. Rash.* 433, Iskandar. And B. M. Add. 27, 247, Iskandar.

<sup>3</sup> The Ghakkar country S. W. of Kashmīr, Panūc.

<sup>4</sup> Text, but there is a variant

Pūnc and Nizāmu-d-dīn so writes it.

<sup>5</sup> A. F. puns on the word Nāzuk which means slight or slender, and calls it an *ism-i-bi-musammāt* (like the 'outis' of Ulysses). There is the variant Bārak (qu. Nārak), and the coins give Nādir. See Mr. Rodgers' paper, J. A. S. B. 1885, p. 114.



regarded sovereign. Under such circumstances in whatever direction there might not be union, or plan, or counsel, or judgment, to that quarter did the affairs of the country drift. It was the winter-quadragesima<sup>1</sup> and there was heavy snow. When Kāci Cak saw<sup>2</sup> that M. Haidar was disposed to make himself independent, he, using the craft and perfidy which are indispensable to Kashmīrīs, left Kashmīr and went before Shēr Khān. For his object in bringing in M. Haidar was his own aggrandisement and when that was not achieved, but when on the contrary things assumed a different shape, he withdrew his hand and entered on another scheme. He now tried another course and gave Shēr Khān the sister of Isma'īl, the son of Muḥammad Shāh.<sup>3</sup> When he had made himself acceptable by this means he took 'Alāwal Khān,<sup>4</sup> Hasan Khān Sarwānī and others to the number of 2,000 men and came to Kashmīr. Meanwhile Abdāl Mākri, who was his backer, died of dropsy, and M. Haidar having left his family in Andarkōt,<sup>5</sup> which is a very strong place, was in a protected position. The people of Kashmīr all deserted him and but few persons remained with him. He spent three months in the mountain defiles, and then on Monday, 20 Rabī'u-ṣ-ṣānī, 948 (16th August, 1541), a battle took place, and by God's help he gained the victory. Though the enemy, consisting partly of Afghān auxiliaries and partly of faithless Kashmīrīs was more than 5,000 horse, yet as their action was based on faithlessness and disloyalty, it did not succeed and they were defeated. Many of the enemy were slain, and a party of them were made prisoner. Kashmīr came absolutely into the possession of the Mīrzā, and the Kashmīrī preacher (*khātib*) Maulānā Jamālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Yūsuf found the chronogram *fath-i-mulkarrar* (victory repeated=948). Though the use of the word "repeated" (*takrār*)

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<sup>1</sup> *Cilla-i-dai*, the forty days of *Dai*, a Persian month corresponding to December. Here *Dai* must be taken to mean winter as the month has 30 days only. The text has *bārān*, rain, but *Tār. Rash.* 485 shows that snow is meant.

<sup>2</sup> *Lit.* read on the brow of M. Haidar's conduct the writing of independence (or absolute sovereignty).

<sup>3</sup> A former ruler of Kashmīr. Apparently he reigned four times and Nāzuk three. Jarrett II. 379, 380.

<sup>4</sup> Variant 'Ādil Khān and so in Firīšta, but Nizāmu-d-dīn has 'Alāwal.

<sup>5</sup> See *Tār. Rash.* 485 n. and Jarrett II. 370, but perhaps Indrakōt is the true reading.



might be applicable to the present expedition of the Mīrzā, yet as he himself has pointed<sup>1</sup> out in his history, the reference is to the fact that he once came<sup>2</sup> to Kashmīr by the pass of Lār, as the agent of Sa'id Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar, and got possession of it on 4th Shabān,<sup>3</sup> 939 (1st March, 1533). But towards the end of Shawwāl of that year, (May 1533), he made peace with the Kashmīr ministers, and with Muḥammad Shāh who was then the nominal ruler. The Shāh's daughter was given in marriage for Iskandar Sultān, the Mīrzā's son,<sup>4</sup> and the Mīrzā returned by the way he had entered.

When on this (last) occasion a providential victory was gained, and Kashmīr was conquered, he for ten years zealously applied himself to its administration and clothed that charming land, but of desolated<sup>5</sup> appearance, with cities<sup>6</sup> and civilization. He sent for artists and craftsmen from all quarters and laboured for its renown and prosperity. Especially was music<sup>7</sup> in brisk demand and varieties of instruments were introduced. In short, the outward condition of that country, that is, its worldly state, acquired solidity. But owing to the Mīrzā's frigid<sup>8</sup> and insipid bigotries, the result of imperfect

<sup>1</sup> *Tār. Rash.* 423.

<sup>2</sup> *Tār. Rash.* 423 and Jarrett II. 363. Haidar on that occasion entered Kashmīr from Baltistān, i. e., from the N. E.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently this is not the date of the victory, but of occasion on which the Kashmīris rallied after their defeat, (*Tār. Rash.* 437-39,) but Haidar is not very explicit. In the *Āin* A. F. wrongly gives the date as 930. Jarrett II, 390.

<sup>4</sup> Iskandar was not Haidar's son, but Sa'id Khān's, (*T. R.*) 341, though Haidar at Sa'id Khān's request regarded him as his own. In the *Āin* A. F. correctly calls Sikandar (or Iskandar) the son of Sa'id Khān. See also *Akbarnāma* III. 552, l. 8. Probably *pisar-i-khud* is a copyist's

error for *pisar-i-khwānda*, i. e., adopted son.

<sup>5</sup> *Hulem-i-kharāba dāsh*. *Hulem* seems to be used here in the sense of appearance, cf. p. 127, l. 4 and 196, l. 5 from foot.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently an adaptation of the phrase used by Haidar about his predecessor Zainu-l-'ābidīn.

<sup>7</sup> *Lit.* for music there was a bazaar (*hāt*).

<sup>8</sup> *Ta'aṣṣubhā-i-khunuk-i-bīnamak*. *Ta'aṣṣub* has etymologically nearly the meaning religion. Cf. p. 334. l. 9. *Khunuk*: A. F. in the *Āin* uses the word with reference to Sultān Sikandar, another ruler of Kashmīr. He seems to contrast his bigotry and that of Haidar with the liberal spirit of his son Zainu-l-'ābidīn.



development, the essentials for Kashmīr, viz., unanimity and fidelity, found a bad market. And to this day there is an odour of bigotry about the Kashmīris, for there is a powerful influence in association, and especially is a strong impression produced by the ways of princes who are vigorous. It is to be hoped that by the blessing of his Majesty, the king of king's truth and chastity (*ḥaqīqat ū ḥaqqānīyat*) Kashmīr, spiritual and temporal, may attain unity, and that the articles of worship and religion may become current, unadulterated by hypocrisy and bigotry.

One of the capital and most inauspicious mistakes of the Mīrẓā was that in spite of such victory he read the *khutba* and struck the coin in the name of Nāzuk Shāh after the fashion of the Kashmīrī ministers. He should have fulfilled his duty of loyalty towards his Majesty Jahānbānī and have impressed the *darāhim* and *danānīr* and the pulpit *rostra* with his Majesty Jahānbānī's sacred name. Apparently he was temporising and was not giving currency to disloyalty, for when Kābul<sup>1</sup> was taken he honoured himself by having the *khutba* read in his Majesty Jahānbānī's sacred name.

In 958 (apparently October, 1551) he became, in a night attack 199 by the Kashmīris, a traveller to the region of non-existence. The short account of this is as follows :—

The Mīrẓā transgressed the law of justice,—dominion's watchman, —and took to living for his own lusts and pleasures. He let fall from his hands prudence and the bearing of burdens, those two arms of felicity. The fraud and seditiousness of the Kashmīris which had been subverted by the Mīrẓā's skill and sagacity, again stood up and the hypocritical and wicked faction took the road of deceit and in

See Jarrett II. 387, 388. It is clear from the *Tār. Rash.* that Haidar was a rigid Muḥammadan of the Sunnī school and a persecutor of Sufis, &c. See Elias & Ross, p. 436. He there takes exactly the opposite view to that of A. F. with regard to Sikandar and Zainu-l-'ābidīn.

<sup>1</sup> There are Kashmīr coins bearing Humāyūn's name and dated either 952 or 953. *Tār. Rash.* 24.

Mr. Rodgers gives representations of three, of which one, No. 33, bears the date 950. Kābul was twice taken by Humāyūn, once in Ramaẓān 952, (November, 1545), and again in Rajab 955, (August, 1548). A. F. apparently refers to this second capture for he mentions that after this event an embassy arrived from Haidar. (A. N. II. 284).

friendly garb did the work of enemies. Their best stroke was the separating his army from him by stratagem, and the scattering of his capable servants. Some were sent towards Tibet, some to Paktī, and some to Rajaurī. ʿĪdī Rīnā and Husain Mākri, son of Abdāl Mākri, gained over Khwāja<sup>1</sup> Hājī, the Kashmīrī pedlar (*baqqāl*), who was the manager of the Mirzā's affairs. They drew a great many to their side and marched against the Mirzā. Ghāzī Khān and Malik Daulat Cak also joined them. Near Khānpūr, between Hīrapūr and Srinagar, which last is the chief city of Kashmīr and the seat of government, they made a night-attack on the Mirzā. He had approached the quarters of Khwāja Hājī to release Qarā<sup>2</sup> Bahādur, who was a prisoner. Suddenly he lost his life at the hands of Kamāl Dūbī,<sup>3</sup> though some say one of his own servants unknowingly hit him with an arrow.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tār. Rash.* 460 and 482.

<sup>2</sup> Haidar's second cousin. See his biography in the *Ma'āzīr* III. 48 and in Blochmann 460.

<sup>3</sup> Text, *Dū'ī*, but the variant *Dūbī* is right, for Nizāmu-d-dīn speaks of Kamāl Dūbī as one of the persons who is supposed to have killed Haidar.

<sup>4</sup> See *Tār. Rash.* App. A. 487 and Calcutta Review No.

A. F.'s account of Haidar should be compared with Nizāmu-d-dīn's and Firishṭa's and also with the *Tār. Rash.* and A. F.'s own statements in

the *Āin*. In the latter he is more favourable to Haidar than in the *Akbarnāma*. The translation, (Jarrett II. 340,) does not seem quite correct. What A. F. text 584, 585, says, I think, is that the Kashmīrīs read the *khutba* in Nāzūk's name and that Haidar at one and the same time recognised Humāyūn. The introduction of arts into Kashmīr which A. F. ascribes, in part, to Haidar, is modestly attributed by the Mirzā himself to Zainu-l-ābidīn. *Tār. Rash.* 434.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

## BRIEF SKETCH OF MİRZĀ KĀMRĀN'S CAREER.

As a short account of Mirzā Haidar has been given, I shall now record the actions of M. Kāmran. On that ill-omened occasion when M. Kāmran chose separation from his Majesty Jahānbānī and proceeded towards Kābul, he on arriving at Khushāb treated chiefship and pre-eminence (*sarī ū sarwārī*) as an affliction, and time,<sup>1</sup> the gamester, as his ally and had the *khufā* read in his own name. Improprieties of this kind will ever be manifested by him who maketh not far-seeing wisdom and instruction his counsellor and beloved associate. He knoweth not the duties of love nor the paths of generosity. He regardeth others' banē as his good, and scattereth evil seed in good men's fields. It is manifest what sort of crop will spring from such a sowing and tilling. And how shall the tree of his hopes yield the wished-for fruit? There is no permanency for him who takes no thought of the issue of things, nor any bond in fortune fastened to oneself by violence. What stability is there in a lofty palace wanting foundation; it soon falls to pieces like a minaret of ice! What fixity has a first night's moon which like a blinding flash of lightning vanishes in the twinkling of an eye? M. Kāmran's sovereignty was quickly gone, like the freshness 200 of a rose, and his fortune departed like the soon-dying breeze of spring!

To be brief; he came by way of Dhankōṭ<sup>2</sup> to the bank of the Indus. Muḥammad Sultān and Ulugh Mirzā who had gone into the Multan territory but had been unable to maintain themselves there,

<sup>1</sup> That is, he regarded the whirligig of time whereby Humāyūn had been dethroned &c. as an advantage for himself.

<sup>2</sup> Jarrett II. 401 and note, and Bābar's Memoirs 140 where it is called Dīnkōṭ.



came and saluted M. Kāmran on the river-bank. The Mirzā tarried there for a while, and when the rebels fell into difficulties about corn, he made a bridge and crossed the river. Thence he came to Kābul and there he opened the gates of enjoyment in front of his own existence and spent his days in the indulgence of his pleasures and lusts. And Jamshīd<sup>1</sup> of Merv's saying, "Until the tiger leave the jungle, the pasturage is not open for the deer; nor till the falcon seek her nest, has the partridge freedom to fly," was verified in this instance. M. Kāmran gave Ghaznī and its territory to 'Askarī M. and sent Khwāja Khāwand Muḥammad on an embassy to Sulaimān M. in Badakhshān with the request that he would submit and make M. Kāmran's style and coinage current in Badakhshān also. M. Sulaimān sent back the ambassador *re infectā* and M. Kāmran got enraged at this and led an army into Badakhshān. Near the village of Bārī<sup>2</sup> an engagement took place and when M. Sulaimān saw his own weakness and M. Kāmran's strength he sent an envoy to knock at reconciliation's door. He caused the *khuṭba* to be read and coinage to be issued in M. Kāmran's name; and the latter also took some Badakhshān territory from M. Sulaimān and gave it to his own men and then returned full of success. Meanwhile news came that M. Hindāl had taken possession of Qandahār. M. Kāmran collected an army and marched against the city and besieged the fort for six months. M. Hindāl's supplies falling short, he asked for quarter and delivered up the fort. M. Kāmran gave Qandahār to M. 'Askarī and returned to Kābul, bringing M. Hindāl along with him. For some days he treated M. Hindāl with severity but afterwards out of brotherhood and from hypocrisy in the guise of concord, gave him the fertile tract of Jūī Shāhī, which now bears the name of his Majesty the king of kings, and is called Jalālābād. The ruler of Sind also submitted<sup>3</sup> and now fortune was ministering the materials of negligence till M. Sulaimān broke his compact and seized of the territories which M. Kāmran had

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the riddle-maker mentioned at text, 221 and Blochmann, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Chalmers, Mārī and Nārī in variant. Perhaps it is Paryān or it may be Barah which is marked

on the map half way between Paryān and Chitral.

<sup>3</sup> Probably this refers to Shāh Ḥusain's giving his daughter in marriage to Kāmran after refusing her to Humāyūn.



detached from Badakhshān. M. Kāmran a second time led his army thither and a battle was fought near Andarāb.<sup>1</sup> M. Sulaimān was defeated and took refuge in Fort Zafar. M. Kāmran followed him and besieged the fort. He stopped the coming of supplies and many of the inhabitants of Badakhshān came and did homage to him. As M. Sulaimān despaired of his soldiers, who were only eye-servers (*caṣṣim-i-wafā dūṣṭ*) and also as the fort was in difficulties from want of supplies, he was obliged to submit. M. Kāmran left Qāsim Birlās, Mīrzā ‘Abdu-l-lāh and many others of his 201 partisans under the charge of the said Birlās in Badakhshān, and himself went back (to Kābul). Khwāja Husain<sup>2</sup> of Merv found the date of this occurrence in the words “*Jum‘a hafdahum-i-māh-i-Jumāda’s-sānī*.” (Friday, Jumāda II, 17th, 948=October 8th, 1546). He kept M. Sulaimān and his son M. Ibrāhīm in confinement. When he returned, he put the city into fête for a month, and spent his days in insouciance. He remembered not his God, nor did he deal justice to the oppressed. Till at length the fortune-star of his Majesty Jahānbānī’s gracious heaven ascended, and coming with dominion and auspiciousness, lodged his punishment in his bosom, as will be related hereafter.

## (M. HINDĀL.)

Whoever behaves improperly to his benefactor and advances along the path of insincerity, receives the punishment of his actions in this world (*lit.* in the same condition). The account of M. Hindāl is of this tenor. He, at such a crisis and time of strife and sedition, left the service of his Majesty Jahānbānī, and taking the road of faithlessness proceeded towards Qandahār. When Qarāca Khān, who was governing Qandahār for M. Kāmran, heard of the Mīrzā’s arrival, he came out of the fort and respectfully embraced him. He made over the territory to the Mīrzā. Many days had not<sup>3</sup> elapsed when M. Kāmran came and took possession thereof. He imprisoned

<sup>1</sup> Jarrett, III. 88. N. of Hindu Kush, South West Badakhshān.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, 574. A. F.’s somewhat disparaging remark about him there, may perhaps be due in part to his having celebrated a victory

of Kāmran. His odes on the births of Jahāngir and Murād will be found at pp. 125 and 136 of Lowe’s *Badāonī*.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmran took Qandahār after a siege of six months.



the Mirzā and treated him with severity, as has already been briefly stated.

(YĀDGĀR NĀSIR MĪRZĀ.)

It is certain that the end of the unfaithful, like the commencement of their deeds, is rejection by every heart (*mardūd-i-dilhā*). The wise do not place reliance (*i'tibār*) on unstable reliability (*i'tibār*). They wait in expectation of these ingrates receiving their portion so that they may be thankful and rejoice at their getting the punishment which is due for transgressions of rectitude, inasmuch as this will be a warning to mankind, and also an adminicle of the repentance of the wicked. Accordingly when Yādgār Nāsir M. had been led from the right path by the deceit and perfidy of the ruler of Taṭṭa and had remained in Lohrī (Rohri), he stayed nearly two months there after the departure of his Majesty Jahānbānī. At last it became clear to him that the proposals of the ruler of Taṭṭa were all pretence, and his representations based on lies. Being helpless he abandoned his projects and proceeded towards Qandahār, though Hāshim Beg who was one of his truth-speaking well-wishers and well-pleasing (*riṣā-jūī*) followers, told him that his joining M. Kāmran and his leaving the service of his Majesty Jahānbānī were not approved of, and that the world was a place of retribution, and that he should reflect upon this. And it is a thing certain that the mind of him whose day of calamity is at hand, becomes darkened, that he displays audacity in injuring his benefactor, and that he reckons the advice of the right-thinking as wind and does not admit it into the ears of his understanding, and that he regards the weighty words of the wise as fables and fictions.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly Yādgār Nāsir M. being un-  
blessed, went toward Qandahār. He arrived at the time when M. Kāmran had brought the fort of Qandahār to extremity, and did  
202 homage to him; and accompanied him to Kābul. M. Kāmran sent a person to the ruler of Taṭṭa and requested him to send with all respect her Highness Bilqīs-makānī Shahr-bānū<sup>2</sup> and her son M. Sanjar, for they had separated from Yādgār Nāsir M. and had remained in the Bhakkar territory. The ruler of Taṭṭa sent them in a suitable

<sup>1</sup> This is singularly like the *quem deus vult perdere, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> Of the household of Bilqīs, i. e., Queen of Sheba.



anner, together with a large number of persons who had separated from his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī and were in that territory. By mistake or design it occurred that these people were sent by the route of the waterless and forageless desert. Many of them perished and when the remainder came to Shāl, fever broke out among them. Her Highness Bīlqīs-makānī <sup>1</sup> died. Out of 2000 or 3000 men who were wandering in that caravan, only a few escaped with their lives and reached Qandahār.

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<sup>1</sup> Younger half-sister of Bābar and full-sister of Yādgar's father Naṣir.

She married Junaid Birlās, and bore him Sanjār.



## CHAPTER XXXIII.

MARCH OF THE SACRED BAND OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-  
ĀSHYĀNĪ TO KHURĀSĀN AND MEDIA ('IRĀQ), AND ACCOUNT  
OF WHAT HAPPENED ON THE WAY.

Since the swift courser of the events-traversing pen has made some strides afield and has borne the words to their goal, let it now return to the track and resume its long journey. A brief account shall now be given of the finally victorious progress to Khurāsān and 'Irāq which came to pass to his Majesty Jahānbānī, and of his passing, with Providence for guide, through waterless deserts (*fayāfī*), saharas, and wastes.

When his Majesty, in accordance with the ordinance of the Eternal, planted his foot in the valley of resignation and took the path of the perilous wilderness (*cāl*), he honoured the attendants on his auspicious stirrup by the title of *Cālī*.<sup>1</sup> By the infinite goodness of God, Malik Hātī Balūc, captain of the banditti, did homage in this howling wilderness (*cāl-i-pur-haul*), and conducting his Majesty to his abode, exerted himself in his service. He also became his guide out of that dread valley and brought him to the territory of Garmsir (*i. e.*, the warm region). Though Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai, the magistrate (*kalāntar*) of that territory, owing to unbefitting cautions, did not himself come forward and obtain the grace of service, yet he was assiduous in the performance of the rites of hospitality.

Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd<sup>2</sup> had come to that quarter to make

<sup>1</sup> Man of the desert; it corresponds to Badawī or Bedouin.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann 384 and 527. At 527 he is mentioned as one of the viziers or finance-ministers. But perhaps this really was his younger brother Mas'ūd. There is a long biography of the Khwāja in the

Ma'āṣir I. 615. He was put to death by Mun'im Khān, apparently in consequence of his unbridled tongue. The Ma'āṣir makes Bairam Khān primarily responsible for his murder, cf. A. N. II. 70, 71. It was Jalālu-d-dīn who conducted M. 'Askari to Badakhshān when he was sent off



collections of revenue on behalf of M. 'Askarī. His Majesty sent Bābā Dōst Bakhshī to him to guide him aright and to bring him into his service. The Khwāja recognised this as a great opportunity and hastened to accept service. He poured out every thing he had in his store, in cash and in kind, among the troops. His Majesty Jahānbānī received him with favour and committed to his prudent judgment the duties of the *mīr-sāmānī-i-sarkār-i-khāṣa*.<sup>1</sup> His Majesty spent several days in this region giving charming counsels and instructions 203 to his faithful followers, and showing by heart-touching argument the world's faithlessness and the instability of external circumstances. He turned back their secular spirits from the pursuit of such things and directed them to the true goal and to the real point which it behoves the student of the masters of mind to pay attention to. His Majesty's lofty soul was engrossed by the thought that as the things belonging to detachment and seclusion increase day by day, he should seek some lonely corner, and withdrawing himself, outwardly and inwardly, from other matters should give himself up to God alone.

But his nobleness and humanity did not allow of his saddening the hearts of the followers of his fortunes by such mortification of desires. Nor did this faithful band withdraw their hand from service on account of these occurrences nor permit such a perfect personality, worthy of the true *khilāfat*, and whose like as a superintendent of things external and internal it would be hard to find in the course of revolving cycles, should restrain his arm from the world and amputate the series of everlasting sovereignty. All the aspirations of this family (*tabaqā*) are, inwardly for truth, and outwardly for humanity, and so it works for the production of universal concord. God be praised! the Unique Pearl of that abounding ocean, his Majesty the

to Mecca in disgrace—merely a cruel aggravation to 'Askarī's misfortunes. Jalālu-d-dīn is called Aubahī, i.e., from Aubah, a town near Herāt, by Bāyazīd who mentions to his credit—that by a timely remark he reclaimed Humāyūn from drunken habits. Bāyazīd mentions also that Jalālu-d-dīn was in the castle of Bābā Hājī when Hu-

māyūn sent for him. The epithet *bujūq*, or half-nose, referred to by Blochmann, must have been given to Jalālu-d-dīn because 'Askarī had his nose cut or slit for improper language. See the story in Bāyazīd 55a.

<sup>1</sup> Stewardship of the Privy Purse. The expression *Sarkār-i-khāṣa* is used in Tahmāsp's letter p. 209, l. 17.



king of kings, to wit, hath attained such sway in full measure. In spite of the cares of conquering and upholding the visible world, he hath attained complete immersion in the billowy ocean of the empyreal and divine universe. And the step of his genius on the towering ascents of sublimity is firm and assured.

In fine, his Majesty determined, in accordance with the Divine will and his native nobleness to write a loving letter to the ruler of Persia and to turn the reins of intent towards that country. Should the ruler of Persia recognise hereditary right and show love and liberality, he would again give his attention to mundane matters and secure the hearts of his faithful band. Should it turn out otherwise he would in the liberty (*ikh̄tiyār*) of a hermitage, devote himself without liberty (*bī-ikh̄tiyār*) to his generous nature. Accordingly on Thursday, 1st<sup>1</sup> Shawwāl, 959 (28th December, 1943), he sent a letter by Cūli Bahādur<sup>2</sup> to the effect that by order of the superintendents of destiny, who have attached so much deliberation and knowledge to every act, an urgent cause had arisen for procuring a speedy interview. After a brief sketch of his adventures this line was written under the cover.

*Verse.*

What has passed over our head, has passed,  
Whether by stream, or hill, or wilderness.

His Majesty desired to spend some days in the Garmsir but Mir 'Abdu-l-ḥai of Garmsir sent to represent to him that it was rumoured that M. 'Askari had despatched a large force, and that possibly—which God forbid—they might come there, and things thus become irretrievable. If he went to the country of Sistān, which belonged

<sup>1</sup> The letter is given in full in the ambassador Khur Shāh's history B. M. MS., No. 153, 58a, and the date of despatch stands there as 7th Shawwāl, 950 (3rd January, 1544). Perhaps A.F. did not quote the whole because, some phrases might be regarded as too abject. After the lines above-quoted Humāyūn went on to say that now the bird of desire

was spreading his wings in order that he might be rewarded by beholding the sun of greatness and glory, viz., Tahmāsp.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Jai Bahādur formerly mentioned. As we have seen, Humāyūn gave the name of *Cūli* to all who accompanied him across Balūcistān.



to the King of Persia, he would be protected from that reckless crew. 204

His Majesty reflected on the paucity of the sincere, and the plurality of the lords of opposition and discord, and recognised the fact that to stay in that country was to act carelessly, and so he proceeded towards Sīstān. He crossed the Hirmand (Halmand) and halted at a lake<sup>1</sup> into which its waters flow. Aḥmad Sultān Shāmlū, the governor of Sīstān, recognised the advent as an unexpected blessing and tendered acceptable service and showed alacrity in offering hospitality. His Majesty spent some days in that pleasant country, the arena of the cavaliers<sup>2</sup> of fortune's plain, in the sport of catching waterfowl.<sup>3</sup> And in order to comfort his faithful comrades he busied himself with worldly matters and was a spectator of the wonders of destiny. Thence he proceeded to (the city of?) Sīstān.<sup>4</sup> Aḥmad Sultān sent his mother and his wives to wait on her Majesty Maryam-makānī, and tendered all the revenues (*amwāl*) of his district as a present. His Majesty accepted a little of these in order to do him pleasure, and returned the remainder. In this halting place Husain Qulī M. the brother of Aḥmad Sultān, who had come from Mashhad to pay his respects to his mother and brother, in order that he might bid adieu to them before he went on pilgrimage, was honoured by an audience.<sup>5</sup> His Majesty questioned him about

<sup>1</sup> Lake Hāmūn. See Reclus 47 and 48. It is also called the Sea of Durra, or Zereng. Elphinstone's Caubul II. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to the fact that Sīstān was Rustam's country. See Elphinstone's Caubul II. 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Shikār-i-qashqaldāgh*. This appears to be the coot (*Fulica atra*). See Scully's App. to Shaw's Turk. Dict. p. 213 s.v. *qāshqāldāq*. See also P. de Courteille's Dict. s. v. *qashqaldāgh* where it is translated "plongeon noir" and is said to be equivalent to Persian *māgh*. In Bāyazīd's Mems. 2 b. the word is spelt *qashqaladāgh*, and we are told that the *shikār* or sport was carried on *ba-tarkāz*. Erskine in his MS.

translation queries if this be stubble. Perhaps we should read *tirgāz* or harpoon, the *gaz* being a double-headed arrow, and suppose that the sport was carried on in the manner described by Bābar, (pp. 153, 154) by means of a harpoon.

<sup>4</sup> I presume that this must be a city of that name for he was already in the district. Probably it is the place mentioned by Elphinstone under the name of Jalālābād. Bāyazīd has Qasba-i-Sīstān, the town of Sīstān. Raverty (*Tabaqāt-i-nāziri* 1122n.) speaks of Zaranj as being called the city of Sīstān.

<sup>5</sup> By the distinction of kissing the carpet.

religion and faith. He submitted that he had long studied the creeds of the Shī'as and Sunnis, and had perused the books of both sects. The Shī'as maintained that the reviling and cursing of the Companions was meritorious and a means of religious progress, whereas the Sunnis held that to blaspheme the Companions was an act of impiety. After consideration and meditation he had satisfied himself that no one can become impious by thinking he is doing right.<sup>1</sup> His Majesty much approved this remark, and with great kindness and condescension offered him the honour of service. As he was about to go on pilgrimage and had made his arrangements accordingly, he was debarred from this boon. Here also Hājī Muḥammad (son of) Bāba Qāshqa, and Ḥasan Kōka left M. 'Askarī and joined the noble army. They recommended that his Majesty should proceed towards Zamīn Dāwār because Amīr Beg, the governor, thereof was coming to serve, and Calma<sup>2</sup> Beg, governor of the fort of Bast, was also solicitous of the honour of employment; (and said also) that soon many men of M. 'Askarī would separate from him and enter his Majesty's service; and that Qandahār and its territory would come into the possession of the royal servants. When Aḥmad Sulṭān heard that they were giving this advice and were deterring his Majesty from going to Persia, he came to his Majesty and submitted, out of well-wishing and affection, that the expedition to Persia was worthy of his genius and that the faction which was dissuading him from going, was only actuated by fraud and treachery. As Aḥmad Sulṭān had by his devotion and sincerity established himself in his Majesty Jahānbānī's heart, his representations were accepted and acted upon. The Emperor determined to proceed to 'Irāq. On account of this affair Hājī Muḥ. Kōka was for some days excluded from the presence. Aḥmad Sulṭān attended on the stirrup, and wished to be a guide for the road, by way of Tabas<sup>3</sup> Kīlakī. As his Majesty had set his heart on visiting Herāt, he took the road by the fort of Ūk.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This story and much of the narrative of events in Sīstān are taken from Bāyazīd. See I. O. MS. No. 216, p. 3a.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards a very distinguished officer. See Blochmann, 368.

<sup>3</sup> A town in Khurāsān. Jarrett III. 67. I insert the name Tabas in

accordance with a variant and with Nizāmu-d-dīn. For Tabas or Tubbas see Macgregor's Khurāsān I. 125. It lay on the road from Sīstān to Qaswīn (then the capital) and was a long way west of Herāt.

<sup>4</sup> See Raverty trans. Tabaqāt-i-nāsirī, 34 and 1122a. He says Ūk lies



When the loving letter of his Majesty Jahānbānī Januāt-ashyānī reached Shāh Tahmāsp, he regarded his Majesty's auspicious advent as an unlooked for blessing and felt delighted. He wished that the glorious shadow of the auspicious *humā* (*humā-i-sa'ādat-i-humāyūnī*) might fall on the crest of his own fortune, and that the experience of this grace might form the inframing border for the record of the splendour of his family.<sup>1</sup> In acknowledgment of the blessing he bade the drums of rejoicing beat for three days in Qazwīn.<sup>2</sup> And he wrote a reply full of respect and veneration and of wishes for his Majesty's speedy arrival, with thousands of lands and *encomia*, and sent it along with various gifts and rarities by his special courtiers. This verse was written on the border (*'amwān*) of the letter.

*Verse.*

“A *humā* of auspicious soaring falls into our net,  
If for thee there chance a passage to our abode.”

He sent back the messenger after doing him special honour, and expressed all manner of thankfulness and gratitude, and recalled old friendship. He also wrote to the governors of the cities and towns that at every city and halting-place where the august progress should rest, the leading men and the inhabitants, high and low, should keep the occasion as the *fête*, day of the royal family, and should go out to welcome his Majesty and should engage in royal feastings; also that they should provide at each stage proper materials and furnishings, food and drink, and fresh fruits, such as might be worthy of his Majesty's regard. An exact copy of the ordinance which was addressed to Muḥammad Khān, the governor of Herāt, is here set forth that it may be a code of regulations for the intelligent and that those alive to the ways of humanity may, by looking at this frontispiece of urbanity, act with philanthropy, honouring and reverencing the unfortunate who

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between Farah and Zaranj and has been in ruins for many years. Nāṣiri describes Ūk as N. E. of Shāhristān, which is apparently the same as Zaranj.

<sup>1</sup> Tahmāsp was only the second of his line.

<sup>2</sup> D'Herbelot s. v. Cazwin. Jarrett III. 83. It is 90 miles west-north-west of Tāhrān. Milton refers

to it in *Paradise Lost* X. 435 :—

—or Bactrian Sophi, from the horns  
Of Turkish crescent, leaves all  
waste beyond

The realm of Aladule, in his retreat

To Tauris or Casbeer

<sup>3</sup> This couplet is the beginning of an Ode of Ḥāfiẓ: No. 217, Vol. II, p. 138 Ed. Brockhaus.



have experienced fate in its heights and depths, and may not abate one jot of kindness towards them.

ORDER (*farmān*) OF SHĀH TAHMĀSP TO THE GOVERNOR  
OF KHURĀSĀN.

This august order has been issued so that the asylum of dominion, workshop of Majesty and sun of power and prestige, Muḥammad Khān<sup>1</sup> Sharafu-d-dīn Ughli Taklū, tutor<sup>2</sup> of our precious and upright son,<sup>3</sup> governor of Herāt,—the seat of sovereignty,—and *mīr dīwān*,<sup>4</sup> who hath been exalted by divers royal bounties and benefits, might know that the contents of his report, lately despatched to the court, the asylum of glory,—through Kamālu-d-dīn Shāh Quli Beg, the asylum of nobility and brother of Qarā Sultān Shāmlū,<sup>5</sup> arrived on 12th Zī'l-hijja<sup>6</sup> (8th March, 1544), and that its distinguished purport has become known and understood from beginning to end.

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann, 426, and *Ma'āḡiru-l-umarā'* I. 507, under title of J'afar Khān, his grandson who came to India and served under Akbar.

<sup>2</sup> *Lāla*. Blochmann, 426, remarks that the word does not occur in our dictionaries. Apparently it is a form of *lālā*, a *major-domo*, tutor, &c. Wollaston gives both *lālā* and *lallah*, s. v., tutor, but marks the last as vulgar.

<sup>3</sup> Sultān Muḥ. M. eldest son of Tahmāsp, and often called Muḥ. Khudābanda. He became king in 1578, but was a weak and unworthy ruler and soon disappeared. See Oliver. J. A. S. B. 1877, Vol. 56, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a translation of the Turkish title *beglar-begī* which occurs in the letter as given in B. M. MS., Or. 4678.

<sup>5</sup> According to Malcolm, Shāmlū means a son of Syria and refers to the fact that the tribe was brought from Syria by Tīmūr.

<sup>6</sup> Price points out that there is a

difficulty about this date, for A. F. describes Humāyūn as reaching Herāt on 1st Zī'l-qa'da, or about 1½ months before Muḥ. Khān's letter was received by Tahmāsp. He suggests that the names of the months should be transposed. Probably the date in A. F.'s copy of the letter is altogether wrong, and the true date is that given in B. M. MS. Or. 4678, viz., Tuesday, 5th Shawwāl, 950 (1st January, 1544). In the copy there given Tahmāsp describes himself as answering the letter on the same day. It was brought to him by Ḥasan Beg Taklū. Humāyūn wrote to Tahmāsp, according to A. F., on Thursday, 1st Shawwāl, 950, and probably Muḥ. Khān, the governor of Herāt, would write about the same time to his master. If Thursday was 1st Shawwāl, however, the following Sunday would be the 6th, not the 5th, unless we count, as the Muḥammadans do from sunset to sunset.

I have however found in the *Ma'ā'*



As to what has been written concerning the approach of the fortunate vicegerent (*nawwāb-i-kāmyāb*, i. e., Humāyūn), sphere-rider, sun-cupola, pearl of success and sovereignty's ocean, goodly tree ornamenting the garden of government and world-sway, world-illuminating light of the portico of sovereignty and glory, soaring cypress of the stream of auspiciousness and fortune, aromatic tree of glory and majesty's rose-garden, fruit of the tree of the *khilāfat* and of justice, king of land and sea (*barrain u baḥrain*), world-warming sun of felicity's heaven, exalted full-moon of the zenith of the *khilāfat* and world-rule, altar and exemplar of just princes, greatest and best of the *khāqāns*, the lord of majesty, high-born sovereign of supremacy's throne, exalted king of the kingdom of the dispensation of justice, *khāqān* of Alexander-type, glorious potentate, an enthroned Solomon, lord of guidance and assurance, world-guardian, lord of diadem and throne (*tāj u takht*), *ṣāhib-qirān* (lord of conjunction) of the world of fortune and prestige, crowning diadem of famous *khāqāns*, the aided by God, defender of the Faith (Naṣīr-ud-dīn) Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh. May the Almighty grant him greatness in accordance with desire until the last day! How may it be told what joy and delight have been caused by this.

## Verse.

Good news, O courier of the morn,<sup>1</sup> thou bringest of the friend's advent.

May thy tidings be true, O thou ever the friend's intimate.

May that day come when, in the feast of meeting,

I shall sit, having my heart's desire, breathing in unison with the friend!

*sir-i-rahīmī* (A. S. B. MS. p. 170b), a reading which seems to me to remove some difficulties and to be perhaps the right one. This is, that instead of *Zīl-hijja* we have *Day-i-khujista*,—not *دي خجسته* but *دي خجسته*. The date thus would be the 12th of the Persian month Dai, which corresponds to December. But if this is so the governor of Herāt must have written to his sovereign before

Humāyūn actually entered Persia. Bāyazīd has *Zīl-hijja* 949! I must admit here that though the *khujista* is plain enough in the Ma'āsir yet the *dāl* of Dai is dotted ( *دای* ) as if the copyist, at any rate, meant it for *Zal*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ṣabā*, rising; also east wind. Perhaps used here because Humāyūn was then in eastern Persia, and Tahmāsp was in the west, in Qazwīn.

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Recognising that the untroubled progress and approach of this king, the angel of honour, are a great boon, be it known that, in guerdon of the glad tidings, we have bestowed the territory of Sabzwār<sup>1</sup> on that asylum of dominion (*i. e.*, Muḥammad Khān the addressee) from the beginning of Aries<sup>2</sup> of the year of the Hare. Let him send his *dārōgha* and vizier there, that the regular revenue and the extraordinary civil receipts thereof may be perceived from the beginning of the current year, and be expended for the requirements of the victorious troops and his own necessities. Having acted, paragraph by paragraph, and day by day, in accordance with the procedure set forth in this edict (*nishān*), let there be no remissness concerning the paramount instructions.

Let him appoint five hundred prudent and experienced men, each of whom shall have a led<sup>3</sup> horse, a riding mule, and the necessary accoutrements, that they may go forth to meet the king, the lord of fortune,—with one<sup>4</sup> hundred swift horses which have been sent from the sublime court for the use of his Majesty, together with golden saddles; and let the asylum of dominion select from his own stable six swift horses, quiet, of good colour and strong, and such as may be fit for the riding of that royal cavalier of the field of glory

<sup>1</sup> A town in *Khurāsān*, west of *Nishāpūr* and between *Mashhad* and the Caspian. Blochmann, 55n. and Jarrett III. 85. But there is also a Sabzwār, south of Herāt, and probably this is the place meant. This Sabzwār is properly *Aspa-uār* or horse-meadow, and is so written in the copy of the *Shāh's* letter in the *Ma'āzīr-i-rahīmī*.

<sup>2</sup> Text, *'amal*, but the Lucknow edition and three B. M. MSS. have *hamal*, and this seems correct. The Turkish, or Aighurian, cycle seems to have been used in official documents, &c., and began in Aries, as also did the Persian year. *Tuḥqān*, or the year of the Hare was the fourth of the cycle. Jarrett II. (I) 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Asp-i-kutāl*. *Kutāl*, or *kūtal*, is

used to mean a second or substituted article. (Blochmann 109, 115.) The *Bahār-i-'ajam* explains it, when applied to horses, as meaning an animal strong enough to form part of the procession before a king's carriage, a processional horse in short. Such horses formed part of the *istiqbāl* which met the Persian-Afghān Mission on its approach to Mashhad. (Eastern Persia. Goldsmid and others. Macmillan, 1876. p. 357.)

<sup>4</sup> *Bāyazīd* has three only and this is probably correct. *Tahmāsp* would hardly send 100 horses with golden saddles, nor if he did, would he be likely to tell *Sharafu-d-dīn* to add six. The six were probably added to the three to make the mystic nine.



and success; and let him place on them azure and embroidered saddles, with housings of gold brocade and gold thread, such as may befit the riding-horses of that majestic king; and let him make over each horse to two of his own servants, and despatch them. A splendid, special side-dagger ornamented with exquisite jewels which came to us from the fortunate vicegerent, the pardoned prince of sublime seat, the king our father—May God make his proof clear!—together with a golden scimitar (*shamshēr*) and a jewelled girdle, have been sent to the Alexander-principled king, for victory and conquest and good augury. Four hundred pieces of velvet and satin from Europe and Yezd have been sent, so that one hundred<sup>1</sup> and twenty coats may be made for the king's special use, and that the remainder may be for the servants attached to the victorious stirrup of that fortunate prince; also two-pile gold-brocaded velvet carpets and coverlets (*namad takya*<sup>2</sup>) of goat's hair with satin lining, and three pairs of large carpets twelve cubits (square?), four *Gōsh-kānī*<sup>3</sup> of fine silk,<sup>4</sup> and twelve tents, crimson, green and white, have been sent. May they arrive safely!

Let arrangements be made day by day for sweet and pleasant drinks, with white loaves kneaded with milk and butter and seasoned with fennel seeds and poppy seeds. Let them be well made and be sent to his Majesty. Let them also be sent for each member of his staff and for his other servants. Be it also arranged that at the places where his Majesty will halt, there be arranged and pitched, on the previous day, cleansed, pleasant, white, embroidered tents and awnings of silk and velvet, and also pantries and kitchens and all their necessary out-offices, so that every requisite apparatus be in readiness. When he, in his glory and fortune, shall direct a halt, let rose-water-sherbet and wholesome lemon-juice be prepared and poured out, after having been cooled with snow and ice. After the sherbet

<sup>1</sup> 120 were perhaps intended as a supply for a twelvemonth. Cf. Blochmann, 90, where it is stated that Akbar had 120 suits in his wardrobe, made up into twelve bundles.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, 55 and 96, *takyah-namad*.

<sup>3</sup> *Gōshkān*, or *Jōshaqān*, a town half-way between *Kāshān* and *Ispahān*, famous for carpets. (Blochmann, 55n).

<sup>4</sup> *Kurgī*, *kurk*, or *kurg*, is the fine short wool of the goat, nearest the skin. It also means fur. (Blochmann, 616).



let conserves of *maskān*<sup>1</sup> apples of Mashhad, water-melons, grapes, &c., with white loaves made as already directed, be tendered; and let care be taken that all the beverages be examined by the protector of sovereignty,<sup>2</sup> and that rose-water and grey ambergris be added to them. Each day let five hundred dishes of varied food be presented, together with the beverages. Let the asylum of dominion, Qazzāq<sup>3</sup> Sultān, and the acme of nobility, J'afar Sultān, together with your (other?) descendants and your clan to the number of one thousand persons, go forth to offer welcome three days after the five hundred shall have set out. And during those three days let the said officers and the various troops be inspected. Be careful to give your servants *tipūcāq* and Arab horses, for there is no finer decoration for a soldier than a good horse; and let the uniforms of the one thousand be coloured and smart. And be it arranged that, when the officers come to wait upon his Majesty, they kiss the ground of service and honour with the lip of respect and render their service one by one. Be it seen to that, on the occasion of riding, &c., there be no altercation between the officers' servants and his Majesty's,<sup>4</sup> and that no annoyance of any kind happen to the king's servants. During the time of riding and of marching, let the officers remain with their own<sup>5</sup> troops and serve the king from a distance, but at the time of being on guard,<sup>6</sup> let each officer display his alacrity in the vicinity of the quarters which shall have been fixed (for the Emperor); and let them, having taken in their hands the staffs of service, serve in the manner that one would serve one's own king, and let them adopt and bring into practice the utmost attentiveness. Let this mandate be shown to the governor of every territory to which

<sup>1</sup> Text, *maskān*. The editors suggest *maškīn*, but according to *Bahār-i-ajam*. *Mashkān* is the name of a kind of apple grown in Tūs, i.e. Mashhad.

<sup>2</sup> *Saltanat-panāh*. Bāyazīd has *ayālat-panāh* and in both cases *Sharafu-d-dīn* is the person meant. The special watch over the drinks of kings is characteristic of the East.

<sup>3</sup> Qazzāq Sultān was Muḥammad

Khan's son, and J'afar was his grandson. Qazzāq, called in the *Ma'āzīr*, Qazzāq Khān, rebelled against Tahmāsp in 972, and his son J'afar emigrated to India. (Blochmann, 426).

<sup>4</sup> Lit. on no account let there be any unfriendly glances. *Wujūh* not *wuḥūh* as in text.

<sup>5</sup> I adopt *khud* after *fauj*, from Bāyazīd.

<sup>6</sup> *Kashāk* or *kashūk*.



he (Humāyūn) may come, and care be taken that that officer render his service. Let entertainments be so conducted that the total of the food, sweetmeats and liquids be not less than 1,500 dishes. The service of, and attendance on the asylum of sovereignty, will be in charge of the asylum of dominion up to Mashhad, the pure and holy. And when the officers aforesaid come to serve, every day there will be produced in the sublime banquet of that king, 1,200 dishes of varied food, such as may be fit for a royal table. And let each of the aforesaid officers, on the day when he is host, tender a present of nine horses, of which three will be for the king's special use, one for the chief *amīr* Muḥ. Bairām Khān Bahādur,<sup>1</sup> and the five others for such of the select officers as may be fitting. Let all nine horses be produced for his auspicious inspection, and mention which of them are for the fortunate *Nawwāb*, and also mention which is for such and such an officer,—that having been previously arranged by you,—for such statement, though it may appear improper, is right and will not look wrong; but by every possible means keep the servants in attendance pleased, and show the utmost sympathy and assiduity. Soothe the hearts of this body of men which have been clouded somewhat by the revolutions of unequal fate, with affection and sympathy, as is proper and pleasing at such seasons. Continue this practice throughout till they come to our presence. Thereafter, what is proper will be executed by ourselves. After food has been partaken of, let sweetmeats and comfits<sup>2</sup> prepared from candy (*qand*) and refined sugar (*nabāt*), and various conserves, and *rishla-i-khatāi*<sup>3</sup> (Chinese threads), which shall have been perfumed with rose-water, 209

<sup>1</sup> Bāyazīd has Bahārlū, which seems preferable.

<sup>2</sup> *Pālūda* or *fālūda*, the same as *halwā*, except that the *sūjī* is boiled in milk. Herklots. App.

<sup>3</sup> China or Cathay threads, apparently resembling vermicelli. See Vullers II. 39, and *Bahār-i-'ajam*. Steingass says they are a kind of paste lozenge eaten in soup, but this hardly agrees with the long description quoted by Vullers.

They were made of rice flour, were very thin, like silk threads and were flavoured with almonds, pistachios, rose water, &c. In the B. M. Sloane, 4093, (Rieu I, 391a), which is a similar letter of Tahmāsp, but addressed to 'Alī Qulī Khān Shāmlū, the governor of Sistān, the expression *rishla-i-khatāi* is not used, but we have the apparently nearly synonymous phrase *āsh-i-nāhca*. Vullers 1132a.



musk<sup>1</sup> and grey<sup>2</sup> ambergris, be brought in. The governor of the province<sup>3</sup> (*wilāyat*) after performing the duties of service and hospitality, shall put his mind at ease about his province, and escort (his Majesty) up to Herāt, the capital, not omitting the most minute points of service and attendance. When he shall arrive at twelve *farsakhs* from the said province,<sup>4</sup> the asylum of dominion (*i. e.*, the governor) will leave one of his experienced officers<sup>5</sup> in charge of our dear and excellent son, that he may take care of the city and wait on the son. The remainder of the victorious army from the city and province, and its boundaries, consisting of the Hazāra,<sup>6</sup> Nikodāri and others, to the number of thirty thousand, which number must be exact, shall go forth with the asylum of dominion to offer welcome. Tents, awnings and necessary furnitures will be conveyed by strings of camels and mules, so that a well-ordered camp may come under the Emperor's auspicious glance. When (the governor) is honoured by attendance on his Majesty he will, before making any other remarks, convey to him many prayers for his welfare on behalf of ourselves. And on the same day that he be distinguished by service he will halt in accordance with the rules (*tuzak*) and regulations of an army in camp. The asylum of dominion, when he has come on duty, will request leave, in order that he may entertain his Majesty, and will establish himself for three days in those quarters. On the first day he will invest all his (Humāyūn's) troops with handsome *khl'ats* of satin and brocade (*kamkhāb*) from Yezd, and of silk (*dārā'ihā*) of Mashhad and Khāf, and let them all have velvet cloaks (*bālāpōsh*),<sup>7</sup> and let there be given to every soldier and servant two Tabrizī *tūmāns*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The musk here referred to seems to be a vegetable product.

<sup>2</sup> *'Ambar-i-aghhab*. This was the best kind. Blochmann 78.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a general order for the governors of all the provinces passed through.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently meaning, when Humāyūn arrives within 12 leagues, or about 50 miles, of the city of Herāt.

<sup>5</sup> *Uimāq*. Blochmann 371n, where it is stated that the word was origin-

ally the name of a Turkish tribe. See also Jarrett, II. 401n. 4 and III. 117n. The meaning here seems to be a confidential subordinate. Is Aimāq the right reading? Shaw gives this as a tribe near Herāt.

<sup>6</sup> Jarrett II. 401n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> The word also means a quilt, but here probably a cloak or upper garment.

<sup>8</sup> Wollaston, (App.), says the *tūmān* is a gold coin worth about eight shillings, but that it used to



for his daily expenses; and provide varied food in accordance with the rules already prescribed. And let there be a royal assemblage, so that tongues may speak in praise of it and shouts of approbation reach the ears of mankind. Let there be made a list of his troops, and let it be sent to the sublime court. Let 2,500<sup>1</sup> *Tabrīzī tūmāns* be taken from the funds of the Privy Purse which are coming to the said capital, and let them be spent for necessary purposes. Let the utmost zeal be displayed in service, and let the march from the said quarters to the city occupy four days, and let the entertainment of each day be the same as on the first. And it is proper that at every entertainment the honoured sons of the asylum of dominion bind, like servants and waiters, girdles of service on their loins and perform worshipful ministration, and that, in thanksgiving that such a king, who is a gift from the gifts of God, has become our guest, they display the utmost alacrity in service; and do not let there be any failure, for the more zeal and devotion are displayed in respect of his Majesty, the more will be the approval by us. And on the day before he will reach the city, let there be erected at the head of the avenue (*khiyābān*) of the Bāgh 'Īdgāh tents with crimson satin on the inside, fine<sup>2</sup> linen between, and Ispahān linen (*mişqālī*) on the top, which, during these days, was reported as being prepared. And let care be taken that at every place where his Majesty's gracious heart may take pleasure, and in every flower-garden that may be remarkable for its air, its streams, its amenities and delights, his Majesty be approached by you in an agreeable way, with the hand of respect placed servant-wise on the bosom, and that it be represented to him that that camp and army and all its paraphernalia are a present (*peshkash*) to the fortunate Nawwāb. Also, while on the march, do you continually keep him pleased by conversation of a reassuring character. And do you yourself on the day before he will arrive at the city, leave that station 210

be worth much more, and in the time of Shāh 'Abbās I. was worth £3. Jahāngīr, quoted by Blochmann, 436, makes the Persian *tūmān* about equal to Rs. 33. If so, it might be compared with a gold mohur. But probably it was a silver coin that the

soldiers received.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has 10,500. The letter in Or. 4678 says that from first to last 10,000 *tūmāns* are to be expended.

<sup>2</sup> *Taiyābī*. One MS. has *Tabasī*, i.e., of the town of Tabas, and perhaps this is correct.



after obtaining your dismissal, and proceed to serve our son. Next morning bring out the dear son from his residence for the purpose of giving a welcome. Put on him the suit which we sent him last year on New Year's day, and leaving one of the grey-bearded confidential officers of the Taklū family (*Uīmāq-i-taklū*) who may be approved of and trusted by the asylum of dominion, in the capital, mount the son on horseback. And, for the time that he is proceeding to the city, let the asylum of dominion place Qazzāq Sultān on duty (with Humāyūn), and let<sup>1</sup> tents and camels and horses be presented, so that, when the fortunate Nawwāb mounts his horse next day, the camp may also march, and let the aforesaid<sup>2</sup> asylum of dominion be the guide. When the son shall come out of the city, strive that all the troops mount in the prescribed order,<sup>3</sup> and that they proceed towards the welcoming. When near that king, the Court of Majesty, viz., when the space intervening be an arrow's flight, let the asylum of dominion advance and beg the king not to dismount. If he agree,<sup>4</sup> let him return immediately and dismount the happy son, and let the last go quickly and kiss the thigh and stirrup of that king of Solomon's Court and show all the points of service and respect and honour which are possible. Should the fortunate Nawwāb not agree, and should he dismount, let the son dismount before him and do homage and, his Majesty having first mounted, let our son kiss the king's hand and mount, and proceeding on thus, ride according to etiquette to the camp and the fixed quarters. And let the asylum of dominion be in attendance on the king, and close to the son, so that, if the king should put any questions to the son, and the son, out of bashfulness, be unable to reply, the asylum of dominion may make a proper reply. And in the quarters aforesaid let that son show hospitality to the king according to this routine, viz., at about 9 A.M. let 300 dishes of varied foods be at once presented by way of refection. Between the two prayers (at midday) let 1,200 courses of varied foods be presented on *langarī* dishes known as *muḥammad*

1 *Cādar*, perhaps veils or canopies for the women; as one does not see why tents should be required for the marching.

2 *Bāyazīd* has "the asylum of dominion" (i.e., *Sharafu-d-dīn*) and

the aforesaid, viz., Qazzāq Sultān, and this is probably correct.

3 Text, *shān*, but most MSS. have *sān*, order or procession.

4 *Bāyazīd* inserts here the word *fahīhā*, i. e., "good" or "Be it so."



*khānī*, and also on other plates of porcelain, gold and silver, placing covers of gold and silver over them. After that, let sweet conserves, such as may be available, and sweetmeats and comfits—be pre- 211  
sented. After that let seven handsome and good horses be taken from the son's stables, and velvet and satin trimmings be placed on them, with girths of fine linen woven with silk, and let white girths be placed on red, and black girths on green velvet housings. It is proper that Ḥāfiẓ Ṣābir Qāf,<sup>1</sup> Maulānā Qāsim Qānūnī, the harpist, Ustād Shāh Muḥammad,<sup>2</sup> the hautbois player, Ḥāfiẓ Dōst Muḥammad Khāfi, Ustād Yūsuf Maudūd,<sup>3</sup> and other famous singers and musicians who may be in the city, be always present, and whenever his Majesty desire it, please him by singing and playing. And let everyone from far and near who may be worthy of that assemblage be in attendance so that he may be present when called upon, and that they may by every possible means make his hours pleasant to him. Further let gerfalcons<sup>4</sup> (*shūnqār*), and hawks, saker<sup>5</sup> (*cargh*), sparrow hawks<sup>6</sup> (*bāshā*), royal<sup>7</sup> falcons (*shāhīn*), peregrine<sup>8</sup> falcons (*baḥrī*) and the like which may be in the son's establishment, or that of the asylum of dominion or his sons, be presented, and let all his servants have silk *khil'ats* of every kind and colour suitable to each—coloured velvets, waved silks (*khārā*<sup>9</sup>) and *takma-kalābattūn*,<sup>10</sup> and gold brocade. And on arrival at the quarters, let his servants be brought before our son, who shall, with the munificent ways which are hereditary with him from his ancestors, entertain them, giving each a suit of clothes and a horse befitting his condition, and let not the largesse (to each) exceed three *tūmāns*. Also let twelve times nine pieces of silk, includ-

<sup>1</sup> Bāyazīd has Ṣābir Qāf. Does this mean one who has control over the Koran, i.e., who knows it off by heart. The last three names in this list, i.e., Ḥāfiẓ Dōst, &c., are not in Bāyazīd.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, 613.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently a *nom de plume* and meaning the beloved or the ecstatic:—from *wadd*.

<sup>4</sup> Also spelt *shūnqār*,—the *Falco Hendersoni*, (Scully, App. 2, Shaw's Vocabulary.)

<sup>5</sup> The Saker, or Cherugh of Jerdon.

<sup>6</sup> *Accipiter nisus*; it is the female.

<sup>7</sup> *Falco peregrinator* of Jerdon I. 25; it is the female.

<sup>8</sup> Scully l. c. See also list of hawks in Burnes' Travels, and the account of hawking in the *Āin*. (Blochmann, 293, *et seq.*)

<sup>9</sup> *Moirée antique*. Blochmann, 92n.

<sup>10</sup> *Kālābatūn* of Blochmann, 91n., who says it is a stuff with gold and silk threads.



ing velvet, satin, European and Yezdī *kamlkhāb*, and *bāfta-shāmī* (Syrian cloth) and other choice materials (be taken), and let three hundred gold *tūmāns* be placed in thirty purses, together with the silk aforesaid, and let there be given to every soldier and servant<sup>1</sup> three Tabrīzī *tūmāns*, which are equal to 600 *shāhī*.<sup>2</sup> Let him spend three days in the Avenue and in the underground-channel country (*kārīzgāh*). And order that, during these three days, various artificers make a *cahār-tāq-bandī*<sup>3</sup> from the gate of the Cahār Bāgh which is a royal palace, to the Avenue which is in the Bāgh 'Īdgāh. And let one of the officers aforesaid be a coadjutor with each artificer, so that by their mutual rivalry every craft and excellent device may be executed. This is excellent that, as the king hath exalted this country by his distinguished advent, he should first come to a city which is the light of the eyes of mankind. Let there then be brought before his alchemic eye genial and sweet-spoken persons, such as are in this city, so that he may have cause for cheerfulness. On the third day when your mind shall be at rest with regard to the *cahār-tāq*, the City-Avenue, and the brightening up of the Cahār Bāgh let heralds be appointed in the city, its wards, and the environs, and the neighbouring villages, to proclaim that all the men and women of the city shall assemble on the morning of the fourth day in the Avenue (*khiyābān*), and that in every shop and *bāzār*, where carpets and cloths shall be spread in order, the women and maidens<sup>4</sup> will be seated, and, as is the rule in that city, the women will engage in pleasant<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text does not seem quite correct here. All the I.O. MSS. have *lashkarī* and not merely *lashkar* and the proper reading seems to be *lashkarī u ba har nafar*. The account about the *tūmāns* is not clear. Perhaps the 300 gold *tūmāns* were a special present to Humāyūn. And perhaps the 30 purses were to be made of the silk.

<sup>2</sup> The *shāhī* is worth about a half penny, so that if the *tūmān* be reckoned at 8/8 three would be about equal to 600 *shāhī*. The figures in the text are, however, doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> An erection with four domes; a quadrangular tent, or canopy, apparently.

<sup>4</sup> Text, *beghā*, i. e., chiefs, but I take the word to be *baikahā*, i. e., maidens from *بک* *beka* which P. de Courteille renders *femme non mariée*.

<sup>5</sup> *Dar maqām-i-shīrīn kārī u shīrīn gūī dar āyand*. One of the meanings of *maqām* is a musical tone, and *kār* and *kāthā* are used by Bābar to mean airs or melodies. See his *Memoirs*, Erskine 197 and 198, and notes. So possibly all that is meant here is that the women were to recite



sayings and doings with the comers and goers. And from every ward and lane let the masters<sup>1</sup> of melody come forth, so that the like of it will not be seen in any other city of the world. And bid all the people come forth to offer welcome. After all this has been arranged, let the king be respectfully asked to put the foot of dominion in the stirrup of auspiciousness, and to mount on horse-back. Our son will proceed alongside of his Majesty, but so that the head and neck of the latter's horse be in front.<sup>2</sup> You, the asylum of dominion, will follow close behind, so that, if he should put any questions about the buildings, the palaces, and gardens, you may make suitable reply. And when he shall come with auspiciousness to the city, he will visit the Cahār Bāgh. And let him alight in the small garden which was made at the time of our residence in that delicious city for the purpose of our living there and of reading and writing, and which is at present known by the name of Bāgh Shāhi. And make the baths in the Cahār Bāgh white and clean, and also the other baths, and make them fragrant with rose-water and musk, so that, whenever he is inclined, he may have a place for bodily repose.

On the first day our son will show hospitality with abundance of provisions, and when he shall have gone to his repose, you, the asylum of dominion, will display hospitality in the manner that will be described below.<sup>3</sup> When he (Humāyūn) enters the city, you will

and sing to the passers by. Most likely, however, the word *kārī* refers to dancing. See Vambéry's History of Bokhara, p. 242, note, where he describes a dance known as the Herātī. Mōhan Lāl, Burnes' *mun-shi*, rather maliciously observes that all the women of Herāt know how to sing and dance, but show these accomplishments neither to their husbands nor to their relations, but merely to their friends.

<sup>1</sup> This might mean women as well as men.

<sup>2</sup> The letter in B. M. MS. Or. 467 is still more explicit. The head of the prince's horse is to be on a line

with Humāyūn's stirrup, and the head of the tutor's horse on a line with the prince's stirrup.

<sup>3</sup> A. F. appears to have missed out some words here. In Bāyazīd 96, we have "On the first day our son will show his Majesty abundant and excellent hospitality, and at night when he (the son) shall have gone to rest, the asylum of dominion (Sharafu-d-dīn) will call the great officers into his presence and direct that each one of them shall entertain the king who is favoured by God, one day in one of the gardens. On two other days, the son will entertain him, and after that the asylum of



make a report on the same day and despatch it to the sublime court. And let it be arranged that Mu'izzu-d-dīn Husain *kalāntar* (magistrate), of Herāt, appoint a good writer who is a man of experience, to write a full diary from the day that the 500 make the reception (*istiqbāl*) to the day that he comes to the city, and let it be sealed and despatched by the asylum of dominion, and let all the stories and remarks, good or bad, which pass in the assemblage, be reduced to writing and be sent by the hands of trusty persons, so that we<sup>1</sup> be fully informed of all that occurs.

The entertaining by the asylum of dominion will be as follows:—Three thousand dishes of food, sweetmeats, syrups (*shīra*) and fruits will be prepared, and the necessary furniture will be arranged as follows:—First, fifty tents and twenty awnings, and the large store-tent<sup>2</sup> which was reported to have been prepared for his Majesty's special use, with twelve pairs of carpets of twelve cubits and ten cubits, and seven pairs of carpets of five cubits, nine strings of female camels, 250 porcelain plates, large and small, and other plates and pots, all with bright covers, and also tinned (*qalqal'ī karda*), and two strings of mules let the asylum of dominion present on the occasion of his entertainment; and let the officers conduct their entertainments as follows:—Let them present food, sweetmeats and comfits to the extent of 1,500 plates, and also three horses, a string of camels and a string of mules, which shall have first been seen and approved by the asylum of dominion. The governors of Ghūrān, Fūshanj,<sup>3</sup> and Karshū will show hospitality in their own country. The governor of Bākharz,<sup>4</sup> in Jām, and the governors of Khāf, Tarshiz,<sup>5</sup> Zāwahā and Muḥawwalāt<sup>6</sup>

dominion will himself entertain him according to the method which will now be described. When he (Hūmayūn) enters the city, &c."

<sup>1</sup> The *izāfat* after *auzā'* in text seems wrong. By the phrase *Nawwāb humāyūn-i-mā Tahmāsp* means himself. See text 207, l. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Cādar-i-buzurg alābata*. Qu. *abtat* or *abāt*, Persian *batāt*, provisions. See Lane 148c. Perhaps it is what Abū'l-faḍl calls in the *Āin*, (Bloch-

mann, 48.) offices and workshops (*buyūtāt*).

<sup>3</sup> Bushang of Yāqūt. Jarrett III. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Macgregor's *Khurāsān* I. 253 and II. 146.

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann 605n. and Macgregor's map, Jarrett III. 86n. It is a dependency of Nishāpūr.

<sup>6</sup> Macgregor II. 145, Muḥawwalāt etymologically means barren tracts.



will entertain at Sarāi Farhād which is five *parasangs*<sup>1</sup> from Mashhad.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Written *farsangī* here. It is *farsakhī* earlier in the letter.

<sup>2</sup> This letter seems to have been greatly admired and appears in several collections of letters. It also appears in the *Ma'āşir-i-rak'īmī* but merely as a copy from the *Ak-barnāma*. Erskine thinks that A. F. copied it from Bāyazīd, and this is very likely. There are occasional omissions and alterations in A. F.'s transcript which were probably made by him as improvements, or to show that he was not a servile copyist. Thus A. F. omits in one place the title *Jannat-āshiyānī* which in Bāyazīd is given by Tahmāsp to his own father, Ismā'īl, but which perhaps A. F. considered too sacred to be applied to anybody but Humāyūn. Then in the list of Humāyūn's titles at the beginning of the letter we have in Bāyazīd after the words "*adl-gustarī*," (dispenser of justice), and before the words *khāqān-i-sikandar-nishān*—the jingling addition of *ṣāhib-i-dev-u-parī*, lord of demons and fairies, which A. F. perhaps omitted as not being sufficiently dignified. On the other hand, A. F. gives the names of three persons who are to entertain Humāyūn, which do not occur in Bāyazīd.

Bāyazīd says the document was produced on 20th Rajab, 1000 H. by Mīr Mirdād Juvīnī, *dār-ōgha* of the records, and that he made an exact copy of it. Probably he did, for at the end he seems also to have copied an endorsement or other

writing on the document to the effect that in 990 A. H. a copy was taken for the *Tārīkh-i-alfī*, (Record of a thousand years). Possibly, however, this was an endorsement made simultaneously with Bāyazīd's copy and meant to show that the copy was made for Bāyazīd's use in connection with the *Tārīkh-i-alfī*. The 990 may be the era of the *riḥlat* or death of Muḥammad which was adopted by Akbar for this work, and which began ten years after the Hijra. I have examined the copy of the second volume of the *Tār-i-alfī* in the B. M. Or. 465, but the letter is not in it. Indeed the events of Humāyūn's reign are very cursorily referred to, and as if it was contemplated that they should be dealt with separately by A. F.

In his introduction to the letter, Bāyazīd tells us that Humāyūn took counsel with Aḥmad Sultān about visiting the Shāh, and that Aḥmad recommended him to go by Tabaskilakī as being the shortest, but that Humāyūn said that life was uncertain, and that as he had heard much praise of Herāt (perhaps from his parents) he would like to go that way. So he went by Ūk and there was met by 'Alī Sultān, a relation of Sharafu-d-dīn. Both Aḥmad Sultān and Sharafu-d-dīn wrote to Tahmāsp and received replies.

In B.M.MS. Or. 4678, Rien's Cat. Supplement, there is at p. 117b *et seq.*, a letter from Tahmāsp to Sharafu-d-dīn which closely resembles that given by A. F., but still is



When his Majesty Jahāubānī Jannat-āshiyānī came near Farāh,<sup>1</sup> the Shāh's ambassador and his Majesty's messenger arrived, and his Majesty was made aware that the king of Persia regarded his advent as a great gain and was delighted at it. His Majesty, being a mine of courtesy, could not resist going to 'Irāq and so pleasing his faithful companions. He placed the foot of resolve in the stirrup of dominion and went on with a firm determination towards Herāt. At every stage some one of the notables and grandees of Khurāsān came out to meet him, and waited upon him as if he had been one of his own confidential courtiers. The sound of the royal cortège opened the gates of joy for the inhabitants, and the people of many towns, such as Jām,<sup>2</sup> Turbat,<sup>3</sup> Sarakhas,<sup>4</sup> Isfarāin,<sup>5</sup> came to Herāt in expectation of the sublime advent. When the couriers of Tātār<sup>6</sup> Sultān, and of the nobles of Khurāsān, who had gone forth to welcome him, reported to Muḥammad Khān that the sublime procession had come near the Ziyāratgāh<sup>7</sup> the latter himself came out, accompanied by the nobles such as Wais Sultān, Shāh Qulī Sultān and the distinguished men of learning such as Mīr Murtaẓā Ṣadr, Mīr Ḥusain of Kerbalā and other excellent persons, and by the people generally. At the head of the Bridge of Mālān,<sup>8</sup> which is a famous resort in Herāt, they

far from being the same letter. It seems to be dated Wednesday, 5th Shawwāl 950, unless indeed that be the date of Sharafu-d-dīn's letter which is being replied to.

<sup>1</sup> Or Farrāh, 164 miles S. of Herāt. See *Tār. Rash.* 205 and Meynard's *Yāqūt*, 420. It is in Sistān, and is now under Afghanistan. Hunter's I. G. I. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Halfway between Herāt and Mashhad.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Turbat-i-Haidarī, S. of Mashhad.

<sup>4</sup> N.-N.-W. Herāt, on road to Merv and a long way from Herāt. Perhaps Sarakhas is meant.

<sup>5</sup> This too is a remote place S. of Burjnaid and N. W. of Nishāpūr. Also called Mihrjān, Jarrett III. 85.

<sup>6</sup> Not mentioned in Tahmāsp's letter as given by A. F., but in the copy in Or. 4678 Tātār Beg is directed to be sent out to welcome Humā-yān.

<sup>7</sup> There are many shrines near Herāt. I do not know which this is. See Yates's Notes on Herāt, J. A. S. B. 56 for 1887, p. 84.

<sup>8</sup> Bābar's Mem. 207n. Erskine says, Mālān is the name of the river that passes Herāt coming from the east. If so, it is another name for the Harī Rūd. It is also spelt Mālīn, Jarrett III. 87. Conolly II. 51 says, "Four miles from the city we crossed the Herirood by a long bridge of brick called Pool-i-Moulaun, which gives a name to the river. So much of the water had been drawn off



met him and conveyed to him the Shāh's felicitations and those respectful greetings which are magnanimity's essence. It had already been arranged that the roads should be swept and watered from the Mālān Bridge up to the Jahānārā Garden, and that the grandees and the ingenious men (*zurafā*)<sup>1</sup> of the city should come from either side and wait upon him. When the royal party arrived at a certain<sup>2</sup> stage Sultān Muḥammad Mīrza came and welcomed him, and paid his reverential respects. That fortunate Prince and the other great officers treated him with all honour and respect. From the Ziyāratgāh 214 to Pul-i-Mālān, and from thence to the Jahānārā Garden—a distance of three or four leagues, the whole plain and the heights were filled with spectators from the city and the villages, and the crowd and the rejoicings were such as never occur but at the 'Īd and on New Year's day. On 1st Zilqā'da,<sup>3</sup> 950 (27th January, 1544), he alighted at Bāgh Jahānārā. Muḥammad Khān gave a royal feast and tendered large presents. At the first assembly Šābir Qāq, the foremost reciter in Khurāsān and 'Irāq, chanted an ode of Amīr Shāhī<sup>4</sup> to the air *Sihgāh*<sup>5</sup> so that even rapt devotees were moved by it. In truth it was very appropriate and affecting. It began thus—

“Blest the abode to which such a moon hath come,  
August the world where there is such a king.”

When he came to the verse

“Be nor grieved nor glad at terrestrial pain or pleasure  
For the world is sometimes this and sometimes that”

above, that the stream here was inconsiderable, but it was swift, and clear as a diamond.” Mohan Lāl says it had 33 arches, but now only 27.

<sup>1</sup> I adopt the variant. The text has *shurafā* nobles.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it should be “the stage of Darqarā.”

<sup>3</sup> I have already remarked that this date seems wrong. It is also inconsistent with A. F.'s statement that the Persian New Year was near at hand for that occurs in the middle of March.

<sup>4</sup> A Persian poet of the first

half of the 15th century. Rieu 640a.

<sup>5</sup> *Sih kāh* in text. *Sihgāh*, i. e., three times, is the name of an air. *Vide* Vullers II. 354b. and the Burhān-i-Qāṭi. Bābar p. 19 speaks of the Cārgāh key. I think the reference is to a musical air, but the words, which are *darmaqām-i-sih kāh*, may mean a place, viz., the Kābdastān, *Tār. Rash.* 206n., and Bābar 207 who mentions both the bridge of Kāh and the Kāhdastān. For the use of the words *dar maqām*, to mean in the manner or fashion, see above p. 428, note 5.



His Majesty Jahānbānū was touched and deeply affected, and poured presents into the skirts of his hopes.

As Herāt and its sights pleased him much, and the New Year festival was at hand he stayed several days there. Whenever he rode out sight-seeing Muḥammad Khān was in attendance and paid his respects and scattered gold on each side of his Majesty. Every day he visited some famous spot, and on each occasion there was a joyous assemblage. Everything was managed on a prescribed plan. Sometimes his heart was solaced with the Kārīzgāh, (the place of underground channels) and sometimes the Bāgh Murād, the Bāgh Khīyābān, the Bāgh Zāghān,<sup>1</sup> and the Bāgh Safēd<sup>2</sup> were visited. In every flowering spot there were particoloured assemblages. Also on these days he visited the shrines of the great saints, especially that<sup>3</sup> of Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī, the Saint of Herāt. May his grave be holy! Ascetics, religious persons, lofty-souled men and famous men of learning were honoured by his company.

When the festivities of the New Year were over and the places of recreation had been visited, he proceeded towards Holy Mashhad by the way of Jām. At this time Aḥmad Sultān, Governor of Sīstān, 215 who had accompanied his Majesty, hitherto, took leave to go to his own province. On 5th Zilhajja<sup>4</sup> he reached Jām and visited the shrine of His Highness Zhinda Pīl Aḥmad-i-Jām. When he approached Mashhad Shāh Qulī Sultān Istajlū who was the governor of the province, came out to welcome him, accompanied by the leading

<sup>1</sup> Bābar 207, *Tār. Rash.* 83.

<sup>2</sup> Bābar l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Yates l. c. p. 100, &c. It is at a place called Gazargāh (Bleaching ground) which is said by Major Raverty to derive its name from being a graveyard, i. e., a place where bones are bleached. It is at the foot of the hills and some two miles north-east of the city. Yates, 83 and Conolly II. 24.

<sup>4</sup> = 29th February, 1544, but I think this must be a mistake for 5th Muḥarram = 26th Feb. 1544. We are told immediately below that Hu-

māyūn arrived at Mashhad on 15th Muḥarram, and surely he would hardly have taken six weeks to get there from Jām. Besides we are told that he spent the Persian New Year at Herāt which he could not have done if he had left it in February. If the date given in J. R. A. S. for January, 1897, p. 47, be correct, Humāyūn must have paid a second visit to Jām some ten months later, for the date of the inscription put up by him there is 14th Shāhwāl, 951 = 29th December, 1544.



Sayids, and all paid their respects. On 15th Muharram, 951, he reached Holy Mashhad and visited the shrine of (Imām) Rizavi,—may the blessing of God be upon him! He spent some days in the precincts of that noble building. Thence he went to Nishāpūr. Shamsu-d-din 'Alī Sultān, who governed there, came with great and small and paid his respects, and was prompt with various services. His Majesty visited the turquoise<sup>1</sup> mines in that neighbourhood, and from thence went to Sabzawār and from thence to Dāmaghān. Among the marvellous things of that place is an ancient fountain<sup>2</sup> which has a talisman from of old, to wit, whenever any dirty thing falls into the fountain a storm arises, and the sky grows dark from the force of the wind and the dust. This too he examined with the eye of prescience. How many things are there not in the wondrous workshop of the Creator, the understanding of which does not come within the scope of our thoughts and imaginings? From Dāmaghān he went on to Bistām<sup>3</sup> and as the shrine of Bahrtāmī\* Shāikh Bayāzid Bistāmī (may his grave be sanctified) was not on the line of road he turned aside to visit it. From thence he proceeded

<sup>1</sup> These still exist. Reclus ix. 225. They are at a place called Ma'dīn, i. e., the mine, N.-W. Nishāpūr

<sup>2</sup> D'Herbelot s. v. Bādkhaneh. In Eastern Persia by Goldsmid and others, p. 381. We find the following, "Ferrier has written of the high wind so prevalent here. The Persians say that it is occasioned by a mystic spring in the mountain about two *farsakhs* off which, the moment anything dirty is thrown into it, causes a tremendous gale to blow, which lasts several days, till the spring is purified, and a sentry is always kept at the well to prevent tampering with its waters. It is said that when the Shāh passed through Dāmghān en route for Mashhad, being incredulous of the story he ordered some of his suite

to throw dirt into the spring when immediately such a wind arose that the royal camp was rolled up like so much paper, and the Shāh was compelled to have the cistern completely cleaned out and purified before the wind would cease." Dāmaghān is supposed to be the old capital of the Parthians, the Hecatompylos of the Greeks. It may be noted that Bābar, 149, tells a story about a fountain in Ghazni, similar to that about the one in Dāmaghān.

<sup>3</sup> Jarrett III. 85a. and Meynard 104. It is N. Shāhrūd.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. swelling ocean. Bayāzid belongs to the 8th and 9th century A.D. Jarrett III. 352 and 359, and Khazīna-al-Aṣṭiyā I. 519. He was a very famous saint and the founder of a religious order.



towards Samnān<sup>1</sup> and halted at Šūfiābād<sup>2</sup> where is the tomb of Shākh 'Alāu-d-daula Samnānī (may his grave be sanctified!).

Whether on the march or when halting, it was his Majesty's excellent practice to visit the shrines of Divine worshippers and to seek inspiration from the mental and physical circumambulation of the awakened of heart.<sup>3</sup> At every station that he reached the governors and grandees came forward to do him homage and on many occasions there came from the Shāh affectionate messages and splendid presents.

As the cavalcade reached Rey<sup>4</sup> the Shāh left Qazwīn with the intention of going into summer quarters and proceeded towards Sultāniya<sup>5</sup> and Sūrlīq. His Majesty Jahānbānī halted at Qazwīn,<sup>6</sup> which was at that time the Shāh's capital. The grandees and inhabitants generally came out to welcome him. He remained some days there, visiting the remarkable buildings and holy places in the city, and taking up his abode in the house of Khwāja 'Abdulghani who was the city Magistrate (*Kalāntar*) and where the Shāh had formerly resided. From there he sent Bairām Khān to the Shāh, whose cortége had nearly reached its destination when Bairām Khān arrived. He conveyed his message and then returned from that stage<sup>7</sup> with joyful foot. Thereafter his Majesty proceeded to Sultāniya. The Shāh was encamped between Abhar<sup>8</sup> and Sultāniya. When his Majesty arrived near that residence the great officers came, one after the other, and paid their respects. After that Bahrām Mirzā and

<sup>1</sup> Jarrett III. 85 and Meynard 317.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently there is some mistake here. Šūfiābād lies far to the east of Samnān and Bisfām, and would naturally be reached by Humāyūn before them. It is N. Sabzawār and N.-W. Nishāpūr.

<sup>3</sup> Jarrett III. 376. He was a famous Šūfi and author of a book on religion, and also of one on general history. He died 736 A.H. (1336); see Rieu Cat. I. 413a.

<sup>4</sup> Meynard 273 and Jarrett III. 84. It is the Rāgas of the Book of Tobit.

<sup>5</sup> Jarrett III. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Meynard 441.

<sup>7</sup> Firigha calls the place Bilāq-i-Qadār (the name of the son of Ishmael). There is unconscious irony in A. F.'s remarks. If Jauhar's account, Stewart 62, is to be trusted, Bairām had cause to be glad that he got away safely from the Shāh's presence.

<sup>8</sup> Bāyazīd says the meeting was in Zangān. Badāʾunī I. 444, calls it Ilāq Sūrtāq. Abhar is W. Qazwīn and is described by Chardin. See also Meynard 11 and Jarrett III. 83.



Šāh Mirzā, the Šāh's honoured brothers came and welcomed him. In Jumāda-al-awwāl, 951 (July, 1544), the Šāh himself welcomed<sup>1</sup> him with all the observances of respect and honour, and had an interview with him in which all the conditions of reverence and veneration were fulfilled. In a noble palace, on the gilding of which skilful artists had long been engaged and in which they had displayed miracles<sup>2</sup> of craftsmanship, an enchanting picture-gallery received its inauguration by the interview with his Majesty Jahānbānī. A regal assemblage took place, and in accordance with the canons of magnanimity and the requirements of condolence and exalted inquiries after welfare there was sympathy and mutual discourse. The gates of sincerity and honouring having been unclosed, those of sociability and gaiety opened of themselves, and high converse ensued. Mirzā Qāsim<sup>3</sup> of Gūnābād in his book of poems (Maṣnavī) in which the Šāh is celebrated has spoken as follows of the interview between those two illustrious potentates:—

Verse.

Two Lords of Conjunction in one banquet-hall  
Made a syzygy like the sun and moon,  
Two lustrous visions for Fortune's eye,  
Two blessed 'Id for month and year,  
Two stars making heaven resplendent  
Side by side in one spot like the Farqadain,<sup>4</sup>  
Two eyes of the world in companionship  
Joining in courtesy like two eye-brows,  
Two auspicious portents in one sign (*burj*),  
Two glorious pearls in one casket (*darj*).

<sup>1</sup> *Istiqbāl farmūda*, as if Ṭahmāsp had gone forward to meet Humāyūn, but according to Jauhar, who was probably an eyewitness, the only *istiqbāl* made by Ṭahmāsp was his advancing to the edge of the carpet.

<sup>2</sup> *Yad-i-baiṣā*, lit. a white hand, the reference being to the transfigured hand of Moses.

<sup>3</sup> A Persian poet with the title of Qāsimī. Rieu Cat. 660a and 661b, and Blochmann 591. Gūnābād is the

Jūnābiz of Yāqūt, Meynard 165. It belongs to the province of Nishāpūr. The form Gūnābād is said to be wrong. It lies S. Nishāpūr and nearly due W. Herāt. Qāsimī wrote a poetical history (Shāhnāma) of Šāh Isma'īl and another of his son Ṭahmāsp.

<sup>4</sup> The two calves, the name of two bright stars near the Pole,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  of Ursa Minor. Lane 2387a.



The Shāh observed "The glorious Creator and Bestower of Worlds made the conquest of India, achieved by his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, the key of the treasure-house of universal sway for your world-compassing sword. Every failure and infirmity which hath in these days appeared in administration and world-rule arose from the disservice and discord of disloyal brothers. Over this you had no control. In mundane affairs fraternal unanimity is of high import, and is a disentangler of perplexities. In this present regard ourselves as your younger<sup>1</sup> brother and know us to be a helper and a supporter, for—our life on it—we shall succour you to the height of your desire. We acknowledge old ties, and shall fulfil whatever assistance may be necessary. Should we be required to go in person as your auxiliary we will go." He spoke many sincere words and such as bore the impress of magnanimity. For several days they held Cyrus-like festivities. His Majesty the Shāh entered personally into all the arrangements, and every day had a novel entertainment. There was increase of formal and spiritual beauty, and day by day he waxed more and more friendly and affectionate. How can feasts be described when so great a Shāh was in his own person the caterer? What gold-embroidered velvet and silken<sup>2</sup> canopies there were and what numbers of wrought pavilions and lofty tents there were!

Far as the eye could reach, silken rugs and precious carpets were laid<sup>3</sup> out and thereby were spread pleasure and joy. What account can be given of how in the important matter of the distribution of presents and rareties he gave his personal attention to the subject? How tell of the choice horses of Media with embroidered and golden saddles and the splendid housings and trappings, of the adorned mules of Bard'a,<sup>4</sup> of the strangely<sup>5</sup> shaped camels, male or female, with valuable coverings, of the many scimitars and daggers set with jewels and the like, of the fine linen, and the robes (*pōstīn*) of the marten (*keśh*) and the red<sup>6</sup> fox, the ermine (*sanjāb*), and

<sup>1</sup> Tahmāsp was about eight years younger than Humāyūn.

<sup>2</sup> *Tāja bāf*, a kind of silk, Blochmann 93.

<sup>3</sup> There is a play on words here. Joy was spread out like a carpet.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the name of a district in Persia.

<sup>5</sup> *Badī paikar*. In *Āīn*, text I. 146, Blochmann 143, A. F. calls the camel *shigarf paikar*.

<sup>6</sup> *Jalghāva* in text, and there is



the squirrel<sup>1</sup> (*tīn*), and also the dresses of gold brocade, velvet, silk (*tāja*), satin, figured silks from Europe (*mushajjar-i-Firingī*), and Yezd, and Kāshān? Many basins, ewers, and candlesticks of gold and silver set with rubies and pearls, many gold and silver dishes, ornamented tents, grand carpets, the marvel of the age for size and beauty, and other regal articles were brought one by one before his Majesty's holy glance. Money and goods were distributed to all the followers, and royal courtesies were interchanged.

His Majesty Jahānbānī on the day of the great festival presented to the Shāh as the gift<sup>2</sup> of a traveller a diamond<sup>3</sup> of great value—worth the revenues of countries and climes, together with 250 Badakhshān rubies. Without a doubt, all the expenditure which the Shāh, whether from his privy purse, or through his officers, incurred on account of his Majesty Jahānbānī from the time of his entering the country to his exit therefrom was heroby repaid more than four times over. From thence they went to Sultāniya and there held Cyrus-like festivities. In the intervals between these glorious seasons of fortunate conjunctions a cloudiness of heart was created on both sides through the instigation of sundry strife-mongers,<sup>4</sup> but the turbidity did not last long, and was washed away by the waters of cleansing. His Majesty the Shāh made every day new arrangements for pleasure and joy. Among other things he ordered the amusement of a hunting-drive (*shikār-i-qamargha*), and his army drove the beasts of the plain a ten days' journey up to a spring known as the Sāvūq Bulāq<sup>5</sup> which is the first stage of the Zailāq Bilāq.<sup>6</sup> His

the variant *chalghāwa*. P. de Courteille has in his Dict. چلغوا and translates "renard rouge, pelisse faite avec sa peau."

<sup>1</sup> In Shaw's Turkī Dict. تیڤن *tiyīn* is given as a Kazzāk word for a squirrel.

<sup>2</sup> *Ba rasm-i-armaghānī*. See *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*.

<sup>3</sup> No doubt this was Bābar's diamond and probably the Koh-i-nūr. B. M. MS. Or. 153, p. 58b, says it was Bābar's diamond, and that it weighed 6½ misqāls, and that Shāh

Tahmāsp afterwards sent it to Nizām Shāh ruler of the Deccan.

<sup>4</sup> Referring to Bahram Mirzā, the Shāh's brother and also to some disloyal servants of Humāyūn. See Nizāmuddīn, Ferishta, Jauhar and also Badāonī I. 444.

<sup>5</sup> Bulāq means a spring in Türkī. Perhaps the correct name is Sūj Bulāq, i. e., the cold spring. This is near the Takht-i-Sulaimān which is mentioned by Jauhar as the scene of a hunt.

<sup>6</sup> Bilāq means a garden and also



Majesty Jahānbānī and the Shāh entered the hunting-ground together and gave new lustre to the arts of horsemanship and game-slaying. After that Bahrām Mirzā, Sām Mirzā, and after them Bairām Khān, Hājī Muḥammad Kōkī, Shāh Qulī<sup>1</sup> Sultān Muhrdār (seal-keeper, or chancellor), Rōshan Kōka, Ḥasan Kōka, and many others of his Majesty Jahānbānī's trusty followers were permitted to enter the *qamargha*. Several of the Shāh's officers were bidden to enter, such as 'Abdālla Khān Istajlū, son-in-law of the great Shāh Isma'il, Abūl Qāsim Khalfā, Sīundak<sup>2</sup> Sultān, Qūrcī Bāshī Afshār, Badar Khān Istajlū and some others. After a time a general permission to enter was given. Everyone of the soldiers and troopers engaged in seizing and binding<sup>3</sup> the game. Meanwhile Bahrām Mirzā, who had a grudge against the Khalfā intentionally<sup>4</sup> shot an arrow at him so that he died. Out of consideration for the Mirzā no one mentioned this to the Shāh. After this troops were sent away in order that a fresh *qamargha* might be made at Sulaimān's<sup>5</sup> Pool (*Ḥauz-i-Sulaimān*). When they assembled, hunting, *more majorum*, was resumed, and here they spent some time also in playing<sup>6</sup> polo and in archery.<sup>7</sup> On this day as the archery was keen (lit. the *qabaq-*

an underground building used to avoid the heat.

<sup>1</sup> There seems some mistake here, for this man is mentioned by Bāyazīd as a servant of the Shāh. Blochmann has several Shāh Qulis, but none of them is entitled Sultān. A. F. however later on, I. 266 gives this title to the Shāh Qulī who was Bairām's sister's son and became Khān Jahān. But he can hardly be the Shāh Qulī of the hunt for he had not then come from Qandahar. It would seem from Bāyazīd 176 that the person meant is Ḥusain Qulī brother of the Governor of Sistān. Bāyazīd states that Humāyūn made him his seal-keeper when at Qandahar.

<sup>2</sup> Bāyazīd calls him Sūndak.

<sup>3</sup> The Lucknow ed. has *kushṭan*, "killing."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Elliot V. 219. Considering how easily an accident could occur (*vide* the story of Adrastus in Herodotus), and the dislike of Humāyūn's party for Bahrām, who seems to have given his brother good advice about Humāyūn, one feels inclined to think this charge of murder unfounded. Bāyazīd does not tax the Mirzā with it. Nor apparently did Tahmāsp suspect his brother, and yet he must have heard of the occurrence.

<sup>5</sup> See Reclus ix. 185 and 252.

<sup>6</sup> *Caḡānbāzī*. See A. F.'s account of the game in Blochmann 297.

<sup>7</sup> *Qabaqandāzī*. A kind of tilting at the ring, but the weapon used was an arrow. There is an allusion to this game in the Gulistān III. 27. See Vullers II. 710 for a full description of it, and also Dozy's Dict. s. v.



dicted on account of riots, were revived by the Shāh's orders for his Majesty's delectation. His Majesty visited the splendid buildings, the memorials of ancient kings—and the pleasure-parks of the city. Fresh illustrations were thereby brought to his mind of the bypast (*guṣashṭagān*) monuments of the earth, of the revolutions (*sargaśṭagān*), of the mansions of the skies, of the passing away (*guṣashṭagī*) of the inconstant universe, and of the breaches (*guṣistāgīhā*)<sup>1</sup> of the unstable earth, and they brought to his lips truthful words about compassing the favour of the Creator. He became wrapt in some old verses, and in ecstasy he recited aloud this quatrain:—

*Quatrain.*

Alas that substance hath slipped from the palm,  
And that many hearts (*lit.* livers) have bled at death's hand ;  
None cometh<sup>2</sup> from that (other) world that I might inquire  
How it fared with the travellers thereto.

Mullā Qutbu-d-dīn<sup>3</sup> Jalaṇjū of Bagdad waited upon him in this illustrious city and attended him as far as Holy Mashhad. The exquisite and magical Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad<sup>4</sup> *shīrīnqalam* (sweet pen)

the following passage in Chardin it appears that the pastime in question was really that of dancing wolves:—

“La place de Tauris est la plus grande place de ville que j'aye vue au monde, elle passe de beaucoup celle d'Ispahan. Les Turcs y ont rangé plusieurs fois trente mille hommes en bataille. Le soir cette place est remplie de menu peuple, qui vient se divertir aux passe-tems qu'on y donne. Ce sont des jeux, des tours d'adresse et des bouffonneries, comme en font les Saltimbanques, des luttes, des combats de taureaux, et de beliers; des recits en vers et en prose, et des dances de Loups. Le peuple de Tauris prend son plus grand divertissement à voir cette dance, et l'on y amène de cent lieues voir des loups qui savent bien

dancer. Les mieux dressez (?) se vendant jusqu'à cinq cent ecus la pièce. Il arrive souvent pour ces loups de grosses émeutes qu'on a bien de la peine à apaiser. Voyages I. 184, ed. of 1741.

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the earthquakes by which Tabriz has been so often shattered.

<sup>2</sup> “That bourne whence no traveller returneth.”

<sup>3</sup> We learn from Bāyazīd 24a that this Mullā was the father of Qāzī 'Alī Bakhshī, Blochmann 411 and 528, and that Humāyūn sent him an invitation from Badakhshān, but that he was unable to accept it.

<sup>4</sup> Famous as a painter and calligraphist. Blochmann 107 and 495. He afterwards joined Humāyūn at Kābul. He was a poet and a mem-



also entered into service in this city, and was much esteemed by that connoisseur of excellence. But from the hindrances of fate he could not accompany him. One of the wonderful good omens was this that when his Majesty came to Tabriz, as he was very keen about astrolabes, spheres<sup>1</sup> (*kura*) and other instruments of observation, he bade his equerry Paik Muḥammad search diligently in the city for spheres (*kura*). That simpleton brought some colts (*karra*) with their mothers!<sup>2</sup> His Majesty was pleased and purchased them as a good omen. After leaving Tabriz he went to Ardabil. When he arrived at Shammāsī<sup>3</sup> all the Shāikhzādas and the other grandees and nobles came and paid their respects. He stayed a week in Ardabil and then went to Khalkhāl<sup>4</sup> and from thence to Tāram<sup>5</sup> and from thence to Kharazbīl.<sup>6</sup> As the air and fruits of that place were remarkably excellent, especially the seedless<sup>7</sup> pomegranates, he remained there three days. In Sabzawār he rejoined his camp. Here her Majesty Maryam-Makānī gave birth to a daughter.<sup>8</sup> From the beginning of his march towards Kābul and Qandahār, at every stage that he came to, the rulers and grandees tendered presents and exercised hospitality. At this stage Mīr Shamsu-d-dīn 'Alī Sultān performed acceptable service, and on the day of the entertainment rope-dancers exhibited their skill. When he came to Mashhad the

ber of the Divine Faith. Blochmann 209. There is an account of him in Bāyazīd 24a *et seq.*

<sup>1</sup> Apparently celestial globes and not armillary spheres. Jarrett II. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Mādiyānhā*, *lit.* "mares."

<sup>3</sup> *Samāsī* in some MSS., evidently a place in the environs of Ardabil and occupied by descendants of the Šafī saint. See J. R. A. S. for April 1896, p. 262, where Shammāsī is mentioned as a village near Ardabil.

<sup>4</sup> 'Two days' journey from Ardabil, Meynard 210.

<sup>5</sup> Tārūn in Jauhar, 75. Apparently the Tāram ريار of Yāqūt who describes it as a large district between Qazwīn and Gilān, Meynard 131.

<sup>6</sup> Khardabyl of Jauhar, 75.

<sup>7</sup> A. F. notices seedless pomegranates as one of the productions of the Tūmān of Nēkniḥāl near Jalālābad, Jarrett II. 405. Chardin, speaking of pomegranates, says "Il y en a dont le pepin est si tendre qu'on ne la sent presque pas sous le dentet il y en a qui n' ont point de membrane ou pellicule entre les grains. Il vient des granades de Yezd qui pesent plus d'une livre. At p. 97 of Vol. II. he says he has never seen pomegranates better than those of Miyāna.

<sup>8</sup> I have found no further mention of this child. She was not Bakhshī or Yakhshī Bānū.



Holy the Governor and nobles strove to do him honour. He waited some time in this city to allow for the gathering of the Shāh's army. From here he sent one 'Abdu-l-fattāh Kurkīrāq<sup>1</sup> to demand the subsidy<sup>2</sup> (*sāwarī*) which had been assigned upon Herāt, and the latter died on his way back. From the same place he sent Maulānā Nūru-  
221 d-dīn Muḥammad Tarkhān to summon Shāikh Abū'l-qāsim Jurjānī and Maulānā Ilyās of Ardabil who were adorned with external and internal excellencies. At Kābul they came into his service. He was greatly pleased by the arrival of these two distinguished men with whom he discussed the *Durratu-l-Tāj*.<sup>3</sup> And during the time he was in Mashhad he continually held discourses with the learned and eloquent who waited upon him and were benefited by the alchemy of his companionship, Maulānā Jamshīd<sup>4</sup> the enigmatist, who was an aggregate of excellencies, repeatedly had the honour of visiting him. One day Mullā Hairatī<sup>5</sup> presented the following to the amending glance of his Majesty :—

## Verse.

Whiles my heart, whiles my liver is consumed from love of  
the fair,  
Every moment love makes a fresh scar ;  
My state is like that of the moth and the lamp,  
For if I approach my wings (*bāl-ū-param*) are burnt away.

His Majesty who was a genuine artist (*khallāq-i-ma'ānī*) and a paragon of acuteness, gave this excellent turn (*taṣarruf*) to it :—

<sup>1</sup> This is the word which Blochmann was unable to explain satisfactorily, 72*n.* and 616. Here it is used as a title. *Kurk* means fur and *īrāq* accoutrements. A. F. gives few dates in this part of his history. We learn from Bāyazīd that Humāyūn reached Mashhad at the end of Ramazān, i.e., 15th December, 1544. From the inscription furnished by the lamented Mr. Ney Elias J. R. A. S. for January 1897, p. 47, it appears that Humāyūn was at Turbat-i-Jāma few days later, viz., on 29th December.

<sup>2</sup> "Present dont en fait homaje." See Vullers and Quatremère, *Not. et Extraits* XIV. 27.

<sup>3</sup> "Pearl of the diadem." It is an encyclopædia of philosophical sciences by Qutbu-d-dīn Shīrāzī a disciple of Naṣīru-d-dīn Tūsī. Rien 43*ka.* The parenthesis is rather out of place if they did not come till he was in Kābul.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann 102.

<sup>5</sup> A Persian poet. He died at Kāshān in 961 A.H. 1554. Blochmann, 187*n.* Bāyazīd tells the story



## Verse.

I go forward though my wings be burnt.

The Maulānā sincerely prostrated himself before his Majesty's exquisite emendation. From Mashhad he went to the caravanserai of Tarq<sup>1</sup> and from there he went by way of the fort of Gāh<sup>2</sup> to Sistān. Here the Prince and the Shāh's officers joined him. From thence they went to Garmsir. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥai of Garmsir came out of the fort of Lakī<sup>3</sup> with a quiver bound round his neck and did homage and excused himself for his offences and for his shameful conduct in remaining aloof from service on the occasion of his Majesty's march (into Persia). As his Majesty's disposition was forgiving and benevolent, he accepted his apologies and encompassed him with favours.

Since the narrative has proceeded so far, it is indispensable that something should be said of the officers who served the State during their exile.

The head of the faithful servants was Bairām Khān, who throughout waited on the stirrup of his Majesty Jahānbāni Jannat-āshiyāni as if he were his good Fortune (*cūn sa'ādat*). The second was Khwāja Mu'azzam who was the uterine<sup>4</sup> brother of her Majesty Maryam-Makānī. From the beginning of his career he was not free from turbulence of brain and heat of disposition. Gradually his forwardness (*bībākī*) and bloody-mindedness (*saffākī*) increased beyond bounds. His last action will be described in its proper place. The third was 'Āqil<sup>5</sup> Sultān Uzbeg, son of 'Ādil Sultān, who by his

and calls Humāyūn's emendation a *daḡhl* which is a technical term for a repatee or antistrophe.

<sup>1</sup> The Raut Tarq of Jauhar 76. Yāqūt describes it as 10 *farsakhs* from Ispahan, Meynard 392.

<sup>2</sup> Jauhar 76. The place seems to be Kākā, Reclus IX. 227. It is described by Macgregor I. 155.

<sup>3</sup> On right bank of Helmand, Erskine II. 304.

<sup>4</sup> *Ukhrowat-i-akhayāfi*, brother by the same mother but by a different father; Lane 832c. Other writers ap-

parently regard him as the full brother of Akbar's mother, Maāgīru-l-Umarā I. 618 and Blochmann 524. One would be glad to think that he was not the full brother.

<sup>5</sup> His mother was Shād Begam, the daughter of Sultān Ḥusain of Herāt by Pāyanda Sultān Begam. Bābar; 180. 'Ādil Sultān was son of Mahdī Sultān. Bābar 363. 'Āqil Sultān is mentioned by Bāyazīd, 18a as one of the officers who marched with Humāyūn from Qandahār to Kābul.



mother's side was a grandson of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā. Though in the beginning he was among the subsidised officers, in the end he was named among the excluded (*baḥirmān mausūm gashī*).

222 The 4th was Ḥājī Muḥammad <sup>1</sup> Kōkī, the brother of Kōkī who was one of the great officers of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī. Ḥājī Muḥammad was of singular courage and the Shāh often said that kings stood in need of such a servant. On the day of the *qabaqan-dāzī* he hit the *qabaq* and received a (*jaldū*) present from the Shāh.

5th, Rūshan Kōka, foster-brother of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jan-nat-āshiyānī. On the journey the jewellery was entrusted to him. As he proved unfaithful in this trust it was necessary to put him in prison for some time. He was pardoned and released.

6th, Ḥasan Beg, brother of Maḥram Kōkī. Though he was foster-brother of Kāmran Mīrzā he was long in the service of his Majesty Jahānbānī. He was of generous nature, affable, and a confidant. He was drowned at the Causā ferry.

7th, Khwāja Maqṣūd<sup>2</sup> of Herāt—a man of pure disposition and of integrity; he was noted for his trustworthiness and sincerity, and was one of the tried servants of her Majesty Maryam-Makānī. He was ever assiduous in her service. He had two auspicious sons who were foster-brothers of the king of kings. One was Saif<sup>3</sup> Khān, who drank the wholesome cup of martyrdom in the year of the conquest of Gujrāt. The other was Zain<sup>4</sup> Khān Kōka, distinguished for fidelity and intelligence, and who became the object of the favour of the king of kings and one of the great officers.

8th, Khwāja Ghāzī of Tabriz. He was a skilful accountant and also acquainted with histories and chronicles. When the sublime army left Lahore for Sind he separated from M. Kāmran and joined his Majesty. He was appointed Mushraf-i-dīwān<sup>5</sup> (accountant).

<sup>1</sup> In spite of his services, Humāyūn eventually put him to death. Jauhar 109 and A. N. I. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the Maulāna Maqṣūd the engraver of Blochmann 52, who in index calls him Khwāja.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann 350.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann 344.

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann 263, Blochmann VII.,

describes the office as higher than that of the Dīwān but lower than that of the Vakīl. Jauhar 88 refers to Khwāja Ghāzī as Dīwān. He fell into disgrace on account of his conspiring with Rūshan Kōka to steal Humāyūn's jewels. Jauhar 68 and 72 and Gulbadan's Memoirs.



After that he was for a long time excluded from the Court. At the end of his life, when the vigour of his understanding was impaired, he was admitted to the Court of the king of kings.

9th, Khawāja Amīnu-d-dīn<sup>1</sup> Maḥmūd of Herāt who surpassed all the world in the science of accounts (*fann-i-sīyāq*) and who also wrote in *shikasta* admirably. He was very subtle (*mūshiqāf*, lit. hair-splitting) in matters of business and knowledge of arithmetic.

His Majesty made him for some time Bakhshī to the king of kings. At the time of the latter's sovereignty he attained to high office and was exalted by receiving the title of Khawāja Jahān.

10th, Babā Dōst Bakhshī. He also was distinguished for his knowledge of accounts and always displayed great aptitude in the affairs of the dīwānī.

11th, Darvesh Maqṣūd Bangālī. He came from the Ziyāratgāh of Herāt and was a man of integrity. He was left behind with Jahāngīr Qulī<sup>2</sup> Beg in Bengal and was the only one who escaped. His Majesty Jahānbanī Jannat-ashiyānī was especially gracious to him, and afterwards his Majesty the king of kings showed him great favour. He spent a long life in the ranks of offerers up of prayers (for Akbar).

12th, Ḥasan<sup>3</sup> 'Alī Īshak Āqā. He was distinguished for courage and activity. He had done good service, but one Ya'qūb<sup>4</sup> by name who was a favourite of his Majesty Jahānbanī having used improper language, some evil-disposed Qizilbāshīs (Persians) laid an ambush for the young man in a deserted<sup>5</sup> village near Tabrīz and assassinated him. As there was a coolness between him and Ḥasan 'Alī it was

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann 424 and 528 and Elliott V. 384. It is curious that A. F. does not mention *shikasta* in his chapter on writing in the *Āin*. Badā'ūnī calls him *Wazīr-i-mustaqall* (absolute Vizier) and speaks much of his influence. Lowe's trans. 189-90. M. Quatremère has a note about the precise meaning of the word *sīyāq* and refers to this passage in the A. N.

<sup>2</sup> Killed in Bihār when fighting with Sher Khān.

<sup>3</sup> He had a Balūcī wife who was

one of the two women who accompanied Humāyūn in his flight to Persia, and she was useful on the desert journey as an interpreter. Jauhar, 52 and 53.

<sup>4</sup> He was Humāyūn's butler. An account of this murder is given by Jauhar 76.

<sup>5</sup> *Mauza'-i-Isharāba*. According to Jauhar, Ya'qūb was killed a long way from Tabrīz and between Qazwīn and Sabzawār. Erskine calls the place Kila Ders. II. 296n.



reported that the latter had instigated the murder. On this account he could not accompany the sublime army but remained in Persia. When Kābul became the royal residence he was allowed to kiss the threshold.

13th, 'Alī Dōst Bārbegī,<sup>1</sup> son of the aforesaid Ḥasan 'Alī. He came afterwards and joined in Holy Mashhad. From first to last he was distinguished in Herāt (?) for service and devotion.

14th, Ibrāhīm Īshak Āqā. He was a devoted servant of the Court.

15th, Shaikh Yūsuf<sup>2</sup> Cūlī who called himself a descendant of Shaikh Aḥmad<sup>3</sup> Yasavī. He was a humble-minded man of agreeable qualities.

16th, Shaikh Buhlūl<sup>4</sup> who claimed to be descended from the Turkī Shaikhs. He was a good servant.

17th, Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn.<sup>5</sup> He was acquainted with mathematics, astronomy and the astrolabe. He had entered into the service of his Majesty Gīṭī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī along with Qāzī Burhān<sup>6</sup> of Khāf. He was one of the courtiers of his Majesty Jahānbānī. His Majesty the king of kings exalted him by the title of Tarkhān.

18th, Muḥammad Qāsim Manjī. He enlisted into the service of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshīyānī in Badakhshān. He was related to Mīr Muḥammad Jālabān,<sup>7</sup> and in Badakhshān he acted as a raft-conductor (*jālabānī*). In India in the reign of his Majesty

<sup>1</sup> The 'Alī Dost Khān of the Ṭabaqāt, Blochmann 533 and *n.* The reference to Herāt is not intelligible. Perhaps the word is *harāt* and means in all matters. One MS. has *derus-tayīn*, i.e., well-principled. He also served under Akbar.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Shaikh Yūsuf Harkan of Blochmann 539.

<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad Yasavī belonged to the Naqshbandī order and was one of the great saints of Central Asia. Vambéry's Bochara 246n. There are short accounts of him in the Khazīnatu-l-Ashīyā I, 531 and in the Safīnatu-l-Auliyā, Newal Kishore ed. Lucknow, 76. He was born at Yasī now known

as Turkistān, Reclus VI. 553 and which is a town in Turkistān about 150 miles north of Tashkend. He died in 562 A. H. or 1176 A. D. See also A. F.'s account of the Yasavī sect. Jarrett, III. 358.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the Buhlūl of Delhi mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt lith. ed. 392.

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann 541, Badā'ūnī III. 157 and 197.

<sup>6</sup> Qu. The Shaikh Burhān of Blochmann 539?

<sup>7</sup> Bābar, Mem. 395 refers to Mīr Muḥammad Jālabān as deserving great rewards for the skill with which he had constructed a bridge over the Ganges. See also *ibid.* 417.



the king of kings he was admiral. He had a charming residence on the bank of the Jumna, and there too he brought the ship of his life to the shore of extinction.

19th, Ḥaidar<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ākhta Begī, (in charge of the goldings). He was an old servant.

20th, Saiyid Muḥammad Pakna<sup>2</sup> (the stout?). He was a brave man and good at his hands (*Ṣāhib-i-qabḥa*). In Herāt he carried off the *qabaq*.

21st, Saiyid Muḥammad<sup>3</sup> Qālī. In Bakkar he was for some time Mīr 'Adl. He had the right to sit in the illustrious assembly.

22nd, Ḥāfiẓ Sulṭān Muḥammad Rakhna. He came to Bakkar in the garb of a faqīr and entered into service. He recited touching verses.<sup>4</sup> Gradually he was numbered among the envoys<sup>5</sup> and obtained honour in the time of his Majesty the king of kings. At Sahrind (Sirhind) he made a charming garden worthy of being celebrated. 224

23rd, Mirzā Beg Balūc, whose father had been in Khurāsān hazāra-i-Balūc.

24th, His son Mīr Ḥusain. Both were excellent servants.

25th, Khwāja 'Ambar Nāẓir,<sup>6</sup> a confidential eunuch of his Majesty Gīṭi-sitānī Firdūs-makānī. From his Majesty the king of kings he got the title of I'tibār Khān (the trusty Khān). He was attached to the litter of her Majesty Maryam-makānī.

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann 384 and 432n. Maujī means whimsical or emotional but was perhaps assumed with reference to his naval duties, *mauj* meaning a wave. Maujī was his poetical name and under it he is described by Badā'ūnī III. 324 who gives extracts from his poetry and says he died in 979H. or 1572 A. D. See also Ma'āsira-i-Umarā III. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently also known as Shēr Muḥammad because he had killed a leopard. A. N. I. 287. He took part in the blinding of Kāmrān.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann 438. If so, he was of Amrōha. Possibly هروی (*haravī*) which occurs in one MS. is a mistake

for هروی. Badā'ūnī, Lowe, 214 and 224.

<sup>4</sup> The Lucknow ed. reads *dū bait*, two quatrains. In *Ā'in A. F.* speaks of the garden of Ḥāfiẓ Rakhna as the delight of all beholders, Jarrett II. 281.

<sup>5</sup> *Īnciyān*, but the reading is very doubtful. Some MSS. appear to read *yak'hihiyān*, i.e., single-minded or loyal. One MS. has *yak'hcakiyān* and another has *dākhil-i-mahāfil*. Bāyazīd 39a mentions him as a *gōyindā* or reciter and as present at the interview between Humāyūn and his brother at Talīqān.

<sup>6</sup> Blochmann, 403.



26th, 'Ārif Tūshakcī. He was on the list of purchased (or captured) slaves, but claimed to be a Saiyid. By favour of his Majesty the king of kings he obtained the title of Bahār<sup>1</sup> Khān and rose to high office.

Among the faithful servants and slaves were Mihtar Khān, treasurer (*khazīnadār*), Mihtar Fākhir Tūshakcī, Mullā Balāl, librarian, Mihtar Taimūr in charge of the sharbats (*sharbatcī*), Mihtar Jauhari<sup>2</sup> ewer-bearer, Mihtar Wakila, treasurer (*khazāncī*), Mihtar Wāṣil, and Mihtar Sumbul Mir Ātaṣh (Master of Ordnance). Others were Sulṭān Muḥammad Qarāwal-begī (hunter), 'Abdu-l-wahhāb in charge of the pantry, Jabāi Bahādur, Tūlaq Yātishnavīs.<sup>3</sup>

Bravo! Oh fortunate ones of lucky star who with good intention and firm foot came forward in the paths of testimony and in stations of Divine trial, and served their benefactor.

*Verse.*

I know not why helpers are backward,  
For by service men attain to position.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Bahār Khān Muḥammad Aṣghar of Blochmann 405. B. M. MS. Add. 6544 calls him Bahādur Khān.

<sup>2</sup> The writer of the memoirs.

<sup>3</sup> Writer who keeps the lists of the night-watch; generally spelt *yātish*. See P. de Courteille's Dict.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

RETURN OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ FROM PERSIA,  
AND THE COMING OF HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH FROM  
QANDAHĀR TO KĀBUL.

When the grateful (*lit.* shade-scattering)<sup>1</sup> report of the approach of his Majesty Jahānbānī became vivid, and the news of his army was spread in Kābul and Qandahār, the blowing of these spring-breezes of victory caused the hope-buds of expectants to open and a current to set in the resolution-stream of the irresolute.

*Verse.*

Eternal bounty from measureless store  
Cast to the city a report of his advent.  
The hope-field of the hopeless smiled,  
The success-garden of the success-less grew verdant.

The loud reverberation overset M. Kāmran, and as the season of awakening and of contrition was past, he advanced further in evil ways, and gave way to wicked thoughts. In the first place he sent 225  
Khizr Khān Hazāra's brother and Qurbān Qarāwalbegī (head of the vanguard) to bring the nursling of light, to wit, the Shāhīnshāh from Qandahār to Kābul. When they arrived M. 'Askarī took counsel with his associates about sending his Majesty. All who were of sound sense said it was not right to send him and that when his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī approached the proper thing to do was to send to him with all reverence the child of dominion so that by means of this fair nosegay of fortune's parterre he might obtain for himself forgiveness of his offences. Some others said it was proper to send him to M. Kāmran so as not to lose his favour, for, as regarded the other suggestion, it was too late now for a reconciliation with his Majesty Jahānbānī. In the end the Mirzā

<sup>1</sup> There is a play here on Humāyūn's name. He is represented

as casting his shadow over Afghānistān like the Humā or phoenix.



put aside the sound advice and sent his Majesty Shāhinshāh in the depth of winter, and in snow and ice to Kābul. His sister Bakhshī Bānū Begam<sup>1</sup> was sent with him, and also Shamsu-d-dīn of Ghaznīn who had received the title of Atka Khān, Māham Anaga, mother of Adham Khān, Jiji Anaga, mother of M. 'Azīz Kōkaltāsh and a number of other servants. In order that they might not be recognised, the nursling of light was called Mīrak on this journey, and his sister Bija.<sup>2</sup> When they arrived at Qilāt (*Kelat-i-Ghilzai*) they put up at night in the house of a Hazāra. Owing to the radiance (*far*) and majesty which were manifest on his Majesty's forehead, men recognised him as soon as they saw him, and in the morning there rose to the lips of the master of the house the statement that the prince had been brought there. As soon as Khizr Khān's brother heard this remark he set off at once, and hurried on to Ghaznīn. The attendants beheld, hour by hour, and moment by moment, notes of greatness in the prince from his earliest years and marvelled at the Divine Creation while watching the wondrous lights of his development. Among them was this that when they had marched from Ghaznīn and had come to their halting-place, the lamp in the house went out and the place was in darkness. His Majesty, the essence of whose nature had affinity with light, fell a-weeping from horror of the darkness and though *Anagas* and nurses did their best they could not succeed in soothing him. But as soon as they brought a lamp his heart grew pacified, and the lights of joy showed themselves in his cheeks. This was a clear proof of light-augmenting and darkness-dispelling, both internally and externally. When his Majesty the Shāhinshāh came to Kābul from Qandahār, M. Kāmrān brought that nursling of fortune's garden to the house of the cupola of chastity Khānzāda Begam, sister of her Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī. Next day he held a grand assembly in the Shahr-ārā garden and did homage to his Majesty.

1 Half sister. She was first married to Ibrāhīm, son of M. Sulaimān, and afterwards her brother gave her in marriage to Sharafu-d-dīn Husain.

Blochmann, 322.

<sup>2</sup> There is a variant, *Bica*, but apparently *Baca*, child, as the true reading. *Mīrak* means princeling.

of the king's servants pressed for leave to pursue him. Though his Majesty Jahānbānī had ascertained by truthful scouts that the report was false, and that M. 'Askari meditated to fight and to defend the fort of Qandahār, and moreover even on the supposition that the report was true his Majesty from his innate kindness was unwilling that 'Askari should be pursued, yet they brooked<sup>1</sup> not restraint and having obtained a sort of permission to go they hurried off lest the Mirzā should escape them. When after making great haste they arrived in disorder at the environs of Qandahār, they found that the report of the Mirzā's departure was false. A large body came out and fought with them, while cannon and muskets were discharged from the fort. A large number of Persians and others were killed, and many were wounded. Khwāja Mu'azzam, Haidar Sultān, Hājī Muḥammad, son of Bābā Qushqa, 'Alī Qulī, son of Haidar Sultān, Shāh Qulī Nāranjī<sup>2</sup> and a number of the Caghatāis and Persians gave proofs of their courage and drove the enemy back to the Fort. Although Jamīl Beg,<sup>3</sup> one of Mirzā 'Askari's trusted servants, sent a message to the Mirzā to come down in person as but a small force remained and that it would be easy to dispose of those who had once already been defeated, the Mirzā did not assent, and despatched a message to the effect that "they know the numbers and quality of our men, and will not restrict their troops to the same number as before, on the contrary they probably have a reserve in hiding by whose help they will do for us. We shant let ourselves be gulled, but will make the fort strong, and not give battle till M. Kāmran arrive." As God befriended the army of his Majesty Jahānbānī, M. Kāmran did not make his appearance, and some victories were obtained which were the prelude of countless successes. In these days Bābā Sīhrindī who was one of M. Kāmran's distinguished officers, and who belonged to the Qandahār garrison was killed.

<sup>1</sup> *bē jalūi kardā*, not heeding the rein?

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann 480.

<sup>3</sup> Bāyazīd tells us that he was a

younger brother of Bāpūs and that he was killed by a musket shot at the second siege of Kābul.



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

ARRIVAL OF THE ARMY OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ.  
AT QANDAHĀR, ITS SIEGE AND CAPTURE.

When the heroes had gained such a victory his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī returned thanks to God, and reached Qandahār 229 five days after the joyful event on Saturday, 7th Muḥarram, 952 (21st March, 1545), in an auspicious hour which was compounded of favourable aspect. He halted by the side (*dar zila'*) of the gate Māshūr<sup>1</sup> and encamped in the garden of Shamsu-d-dīn 'Alī the Qāzī of Qandahār. The batteries were allotted and the captains distributed. There were daily combats between the brave men on both sides. One day Ḥaidar Sultān and his two sons 'Alī Qulī Khān<sup>2</sup> and Bahādar Khān, and Khwāja Mu'azzam drove the enemy from the front of Khwāja<sup>3</sup> Khizr to the shrines near the old city and the barricade<sup>4</sup> (*kūca band*), and displayed great deeds. Ḥaidar<sup>5</sup> Sultān was in advance of all the others and the leader in the attacks. A remarkable circumstance was that Bābū Dōst Yasāwal was standing with a number of men among the shrines and was shooting arrows. Ḥaidar Sultān thought to slay him with his lance and raised his arm to do this, and at the same moment an arrow reached his armpit. Isma'il<sup>6</sup> Sultān of Jām, whom M. Kāmran had sent as an auxiliary, was standing on the white (*aqca*) Tower which faces the tombs, beside M. 'Askarī and was

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the weavers' gate, *māshūr* or *māsūr* meaning a weaver's reed or spindle.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards the famous Khān Zamān, Blochmann 319 and 328.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be the name of a shrine. See Jarrett II. 404. Bāyazīd speaks of the dāman-i-Khwāja Khizr.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps what is meant is that it was a cul de sac.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently he was not severely wounded for we find him taking part in the expedition against Raft'. He died of the pestilence on the march to Kābul.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently the Isma'il Qulī Beg Duldāī of Blochmann 388 and Ma'āsir I. 64. He deserted to Humāyūn at Qandahār (Bāyazīd).

watching the fight. Though he was too far off to distinguish the features, he remarked that "the man from whose hand the lance has fallen may be Haidar Sultān for once I went with 'Ubaidu-l-lāh Khān<sup>1</sup> to the city of Tās, and Haidar Sultān and I were comrades<sup>2</sup> in an attack and I lost these two fingers. From the mode of fighting I guess that this is he." When they brought in the lance afterwards his (Haidar's) name was found written on it. When they read it, they praised Isma'il's conjecture. In this engagement many men of rank were wounded, the first of all to be wounded being Khwāja Mu'azzam, but who succeeded in returning. About this time news was brought that Rafi' Kōka, the foster brother of M. Kāmran, was stationed<sup>3</sup> behind a hill towards Zamīndāwar on the bank of the Arghandāb with a force of Hazāras and Nakodars.<sup>4</sup> Bairām Khān, Muḥammad Mirzā, Haidar Sultān, Maqṣūd Mirzā Akhtabēgi, the son of Zainu-d-dīn Sultān Shāmlū and a number of others were sent against him. By good fortune Rafi' Kōka was made prisoner, and great store of provisions, cattle and weapons was seized and the scarcity in the camp was changed to plenty. Other battles were also fought by the brave warriors with successful results.

230 As. M. 'Askari had from his own backsliding let the thread of performance fall from his hand, and was persistently contumacious it occurred to his Majesty on account of his general benevolence and his fraternal affection that he should send to M. Kāmran the Shāh's<sup>5</sup> letter together with an admonitory firmān of his own. Perchance he would awake from the sleep of neglect and take the straight road and by dint of good acts make reparation for his offences. In this way many persons might escape from unnecessary

<sup>1</sup> The great Shaibānī's nephew and Haidar M.'s brother-in-law. See *Tar. Rash.* 283. The battle was probably that fought between the Uzbegs and Persians at Zūrābād near Jām on 25th September, 1528. Bābar, Mem. 390 and 397 and Erskine's Hist. II. 491.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *hamrāh*, but perhaps it should be *hamrū* and the meaning be that Isma'il encountered

Haidar as an opponent. It is hardly likely that Haidar would be on the Uzbeg side. But perhaps the text means that Isma'il was opposed to 'Ubaidu-l-lāh.

<sup>3</sup> Bāyazīd has *sangar* (in an) entrenchment.

<sup>4</sup> Jarrett II. 401n.

<sup>5</sup> It appears from Bāyazīd that Bairām took to Kāmran letters both from Shāh Tahmāsp and Humāyūn.



destruction, and brotherly concord might result in great deeds which were brooding in his right-thinking soul. Accordingly Bairām Khān was despatched to Kābul as an ambassador. When he reached the pass of Rūghnī<sup>1</sup> and the Āb-Istāda,<sup>2</sup> which is between Qandahār and Ghaznī a number of Hazāras blocked the way. At the close of the day there was an engagement and the king's servants were victorious and chastised the worthless Hazāras. Many of them were slain. When Bairām Khān arrived near Kābul, Bābūs and many others came and welcomed him and took him with them. M. Kamrān held a reception in the Cahār Bāgh and sent for Bairām Khān. The latter rightly thought that it would not be proper to give the two rescripts to the Mīrzā when he would doubtless be sitting down, and it was very unlikely that he would stand up and pay respect to them as was proper he should do. Having considered the matter, he took the Koran in his hand and tendered it as an offering. The Mīrzā on seeing the Koran stood up out of reverence towards it, and at this moment Bairām Khān presented the two rescripts. Thus the device procured respect for them. The king's and the Shāh's gifts were duly presented and Bairām sitting down beside the Mīrzā uttered words of truth and sincerity. At the close of the meeting he took leave to pay his respects to the Shāhīnshāh. He also obtained permission to see M. Hindāl, M. Sulaimān, Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā and Ulugh Beg Mīrzā. The Mīrzā (Kāmran) dismissed him and appointed Bābūs to accompany him at the interview. Bairām Khān first went to kiss the threshold of his Majesty the king of kings who was in the bāgh-i-maktab (school-garden) with that cupola of chastity Khānzāda Begam, elder sister of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī. Māham Bega who was his Majesty's nurse (*anaga*) brought out the nursling of Divine light from the inner chambers. The visitors performed<sup>3</sup> their obeisance, and acquitted themselves of their embassy to him. It was a great joy to Bairām Khān and his companions to have the privilege of beholding his auspicious Majesty. The witnessing of the divine lights which were manifest on 231

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find this pass.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, standing or stagnant water. It is a salt-lake south of Ghaznī, I. G. I. 33 and Bābar's Mem. 149. The lake is 7000 feet above the sea.

<sup>3</sup> The account of Bairām's visit to Kābul, &c., seems taken from Bāyazīd. He gives more details, for he was one of the party.



his Majesty's forehead glorified their vision, and they returned thanks to Providence. Taking leave from them they went and visited M. Hindāl who was in the house of his respected mother Dildār Begam and was under surveillance. They presented to him a gracious *firmān*, a robe of honour and a horse. With like ceremonies they next day visited M. Sulaimān<sup>1</sup> and M. Ibrāhīm who had been imprisoned in the fort in the house of Qāsim<sup>2</sup> Mukhlis. On that day they were by M. Kāmran's orders brought out from there into the garden of Jalālu-d-dīn Beg which is near the *Shahr-Ārā*<sup>3</sup> garden. Bairām Khān embraced these two grandees in that garden and gladdened them by conveying to them the gifts and favours of the king and the Shāh. Taking leave from them he went to *jalka*<sup>4</sup> Siyāh Sang, where Yādgār Naṣir had settled, and gave<sup>5</sup> him hopes of the pardon of his offences, and the forgetting of his faults, and of his receiving various royal favours. In like manner he visited and conveyed hopes to Ulugh<sup>6</sup> Mirzā and other grandees, and gave them, as was proper, soothing messages. M. Kāmran kept Bairām Khān under surveillance for more than a month, having neither the strength to resist, nor the grace to submit. He remained in these perplexities, until after hundreds of solicitations he let him (Bairām) go after a month and a half. He also by entreaties prevailed upon her Highness Khānzāda Begam to go to Qandahār ostensibly to persuade M. 'Askari, who, he pretended, was not under his influence, to make over Qandahār to his Majesty Jahānbānī's servants, but in reality in order that if things should go ill with him, who was holding out, and was maintaining the fort under M. Kāmran's orders, and he should have to give up the fort, that cupola of chastity might

<sup>1</sup> It appears from Bāyazīd that one reason for visiting Sulaimān was to give him a letter from the king of Persia, and also to explain the fate of the horse which Ṭahmāsp had sent him.

<sup>2</sup> Kāmran's artillery-officer (Bāyazīd).

<sup>3</sup> Jarrett, II. 404.

<sup>4</sup> See Vullers 525a. Siyāh Sang, i.e., Blackstone, is an *ālāng* or meadow east of Kābul, Bābar, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Bāyazīd says Bairām was with Yādgār till 3 watches of the night as they were old friends in India. If Bairām's soothingly to him with Humāyūn's consent, it seems base and treacherous of the latter to have put Yādgār to death shortly after his submission.

<sup>6</sup> Blochmann, 461, 462. He was a Timuride, a son of M. Sultān Mirzā and grandson of Sultān Ḥusām of Herāt.



be an intercessor for M. 'Askarī and might procure him his liberty. As M. 'Askarī had left the right path and in his devotion to M. Kāmran had given up the rein of intention to the hand of rebellion and hostility, he applied himself to strengthening the fort, and placed guns and muskets all over it. The fort too was very strong, for it was of mud and so the breaching (*qila' ā qama'*) of it was very difficult. The breadth of the wall was sixty yards<sup>1</sup> (*gaz*). Though the heroes of the victorious army were few in number, yet they strove manfully so that the Turkomans were astonished, and became jealous of them. 232

One day his Majesty Jahānbāni had a select party, and there his confidential intimates opened the door of recitals and took into their hands the thread of narrative. The assembly became delightful from the flow of pleasing anecdotes and joyous tales. By the elixir of the words of the brave the coin of the courageous was tested and increased, and a stock of valour accrued to those whose supply was small. On this occasion there came to his mind the loving remembrance of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh. What may be the condition of this young cypress of the stream of the Caliphate, separated now from friends and surrounded by foes? And what are the thoughts of the envious, the foolish and the evil-minded about this auspicious rose-bush? With a heart rent in twain and a soul divided 'twixt hope and fear, he opened the hand of supplication before the great Temple which granteth the desire of the afflicted and distressed and prayed for the happiness and long life of that goodly tree of the Sultauate. In this way he relieved his blistered heart.

*Verse.*

Lord : keep Thou this royal pearl  
Far from the molestation of the wicked,  
Grant him water from wisdom's stream,  
Grant him heat from perception's sun.

The sun hath trod many circuits in heaven  
That this Light might issue from the veil,  
Many a star hath displayed benign aspects  
That this Moon might put aside his locks.

<sup>1</sup> So in all MSS. apparently, but perhaps A. F. wrote *shash* (6) and not *shast* (60).



High Heaven trod many a round  
That the horizons might share in this light,  
May eternal splendour be his portion  
May his lightsome heart ne'er be darkened !

And in order to comfort his capacious soul he called for the horoscope which is the guarded tablet of mysteries of the fortune-favoured one and carefully perused it. In that frontispiece of auspiciousness he read personal safety, long life, ascension of the grades of fortune, ruin of enemies, and failure of the evil and crooked thoughted. Joyfully lifting up his head he exclaimed " God be praised, my heart is wholly at rest from these anxieties. There is hope that bye and bye I shall be made happy by a sight of that divine nursling, and shall, by the star of that auspicious one become victorious over all my foes." Having returned thanks to God he set himself to conquer the fort. M. 'Askari used all diligence in holding it, and made changes in the garrisons of the batteries every  
233 day and every night, lest proffers of reconciliation should be made by the besiegers<sup>1</sup> and there should thus be less vigilance on the part of the defence.

As the siege was protracted, and none of the king's servants came and joined him, the Persian officers relaxed their exertions and meditated a return home. His Majesty Jahānbānī read this design in their demeanour, and redoubled his efforts to take the fort. One night he moved out from his battery, and approaching the gate from the side of old Qandahār—the place is called Cahār Dara—he came within a stone throw of it, and there established a battery. Next morning when the Turkomāns saw this, they felt encouraged to take the fort, and they all moved forward; and narrowed the lines of circumvallation. M. 'Askari was astonished, and showed signs of despair, and besought with many entreaties that as the cupola of chastity (*Khānzāda*) was approaching, he might have a respite till her arrival so that he might be reassured by her and might be enabled to serve (*Humāyūn*). He sent his petition through Mīr

<sup>1</sup> The passage is rather obscure, but I think the word *mūrca* in the last part of the sentence must refer to the siege-batteries. The expres-

sion *har-yak'ihatī darmiyan an-dākhta* may be compared with that at p. 153, l. 8 of text.